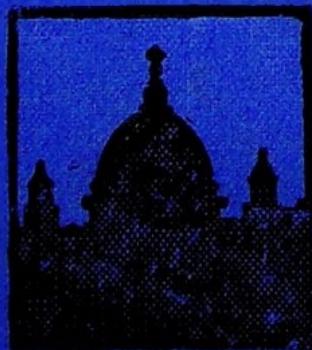


A PRIMER OF
LONDON
CITIZENSHIP

BY
FREDERIC SWANN



WITH A PREFACE
BY
SIR LAURENCE GOMME

2/-

A PRIMER OF
LONDON
CITIZENSHIP
BEING
**A Short Sketch of the Government
of the Empire's Capital**

FOR STUDENTS IN EVENING INSTITUTES, Etc.

BY
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WITH A PREFACE BY
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Clerk to the London County Council 1900-1915

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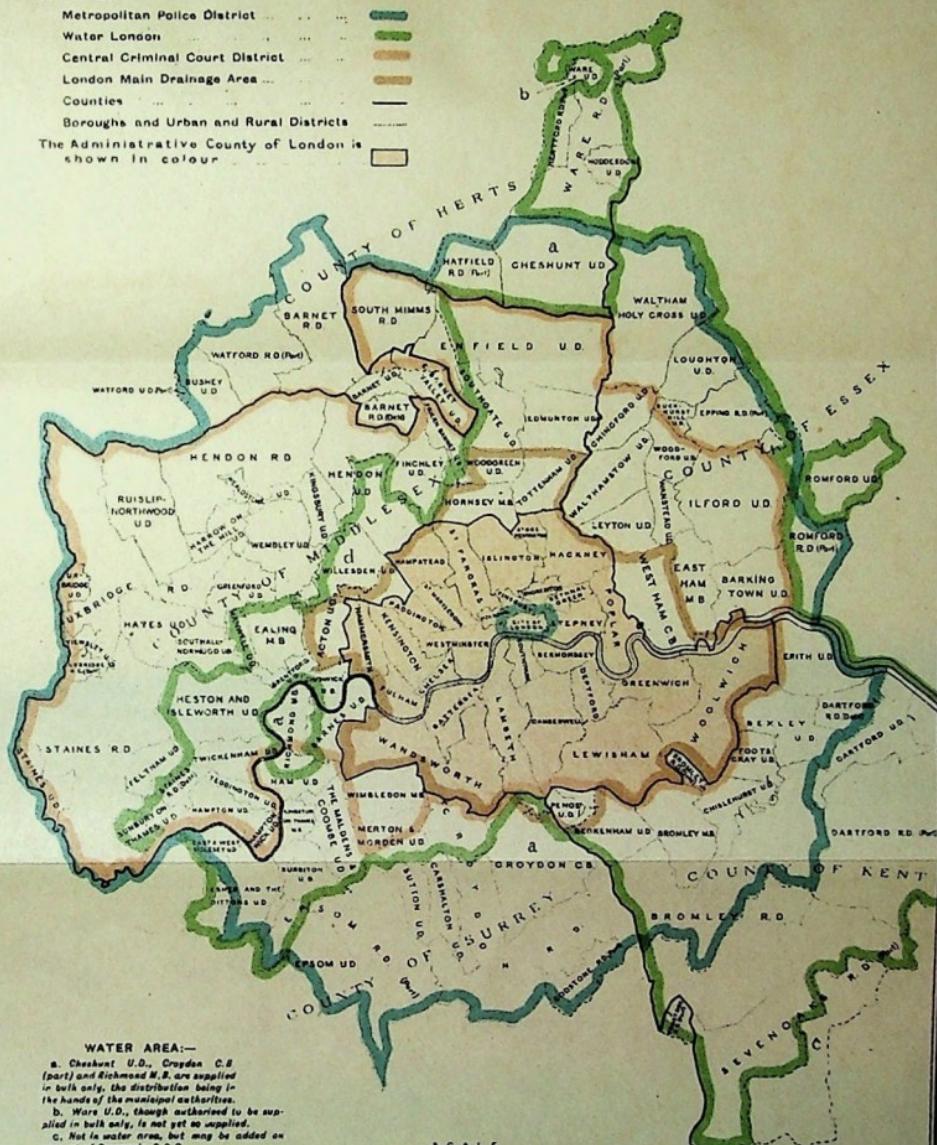
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GREATER LONDON.

Boundaries:-

- Metropolitan Police District
- Water London
- Central Criminal Court District
- London Main Drainage Area
- Counties
- Boroughs and Urban and Rural Districts
- The Administrative County of London is shown in colour



WATER AREA:-

- a. Cheshunt U.D., Croydon C.B. (part) and Richmond M.B. are supplied in bulk only, the distribution being in the hands of the municipal authorities.
- b. Chipping Barnet U.D. is to be supplied in bulk only, is not yet supplied.
- c. Not in water area, but may be added on request of Sevenoaks R.D.C.

MAIN DRAINAGE:-

- d. The whole of Waltham U.D. is now authorized to be brought into the London main drainage system, but the works are not yet completed.

SCALE
1 2 3 4 5 Miles

LAUNCESTON

London County Council,
November, 1943.

PREFACE

THIS book is greatly needed. That it is written primarily for young students does not in any way detract from its usefulness to all Londoners who want to know something of the government of their great city. It contains an account of all the essential facts and it is written in so charmingly simple a style that no one can be misled by its statements.

It induces one great question at the very stage when one closes it at the last page—does any Londoner, except the expert, such as the author of this book is, understand how wonderfully and fearfully he is governed? There is nothing like it in the whole world. London is a great city in area as in population. It has a vast number of separated needs. It has not done growing and expanding in all directions, especially towards the south. It affords the greatest problem of local self-government in the modern world.

But none of these facts justifies the *laissez faire* neglect of it by the State and by its citizens. In the centre is a magnificent specimen of the unreformed mediæval city. On every side of it are the statutory creations of the County Authority and of the various Local Authorities. The central city may do practically as it likes without government control, audit, or interference of any kind.

The outside area is bound down to the four corners of Acts of Parliament and has to submit to all sorts of inept systems of administration and control, manufactured in government departments who do not understand the very elements of local self-government.

The ancient city is doing good service here. It holds government departments at arm's length. It relies upon ancient rights and privileges fought for and won on many a battle-field, both in the military sense and in the arena of political conflict. Londoners ought to ponder over this elementary fact. They ought to see to it that the example of the ancient city is followed at least in essentials by the modern county.

There are innumerable examples of the ignorance of the highest in the land as well as the simplest citizen, on the position of London. London is beginning to be looked upon as the capital city of the Empire as well as of Britain, and this position has been accorded to it for many years past by Britons beyond the Seas, by the great Dependencies and by the Colonies, but not by its own people.

A few months ago I had the privilege of meeting the editor of a well-known Australian newspaper. It was his first visit to London. He knew all about it. He was acquainted with all the written histories. He was visiting the places he had read about and was full of the glories he had seen. He spoke of London with reverence as the Capital City of the Empire of which Australia was a member.

Listening to his glowing words I contrasted with them the views of the ordinary Londoner. Whilst his visitors from the country or abroad think in terms of London, the average resident thinks only in terms of local parts of London. This is the extraordinary thing about it all.

There is no great cohesive force. This cohesive force will, however, come, and probably from without instead of from within. The capital city is not going to remain a disorganised congeries of unrelated units. That is certainly impossible, and perhaps one of the indirect results of the present war will be to show us in London the necessity for an organised civic life.

These are the general thoughts which come to me on reading Mr. Swann's book. Of its details there is nothing to say either by way of addition or subtraction. In some cases one might have wished for more elaboration and emphasis—especially on the historical side—in others for the reverse process. But this is not a matter upon which anyone may dogmatise.

As a text-book I believe it has before it a sphere of usefulness. In a self-governing community where every town and district is required by the law of the land to administer its local municipal affairs, it is both reasonable and right that some direct instruction in Civics should be given to those who will constitute the responsible citizens of the future.

The State, acting through its local Education Authorities has now fully realised the necessity of training our youth so as to be physically and mentally fit for the battle of life that awaits them as soon as they leave school. One thing, however, is still lacking—our young people are not being taught to be citizens. They are too often allowed to grow up in ignorance of their relation to the State and to the Municipality, of the debt they owe to both, and of their duty to repay that debt by some form of service other than the mere payment of rates and taxes.

Hence the need of definite instruction in the public

life of the locality in which each one finds himself, of the mode of providing for the corporate needs of its inhabitants, of the benefits each draws from municipal services, and of the duty of each to contribute his share to the welfare of the community of which he forms a part.

A keener civic consciousness must be evoked, and nowhere is this more desirable than in London. I trust this little book may have the effect of stimulating an interest among young Londoners in the municipal administration of their glorious city—the Empire's as well as Britain's Capital.

LAURENCE GOMME.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

Less than two years ago I put forth a little work entitled "*A Primer of English Citizenship*," which was greeted most cordially by all sections of the Press.

When writing that book, I was frequently embarrassed by the fact that Citizenship, in London, is affected by many conditions and considerations which do not prevail elsewhere in the country. In particular, the Londoner lives under a form of local government and among civic institutions differing materially in constitution from those found in our provincial towns and cities.

In order, however, not to complicate or overburden an elementary text-book, I chose to subordinate the lesser to the greater, and confined myself, in the above-named *Primer*, to a description of our civic life as it obtains throughout England with the exception of the London area.

The present volume, which deals solely with London, is intended to explain, in language easy to understand, the unique system of local government in force in London, to elucidate some of its intricacies, to point out some of its defects, to examine those measures that have been proposed for its simplification and improvement, and last, but not least, to arouse—especially in young readers—some sense of the wonder and majesty of London, some desire to learn about its municipal institutions, and some appreciation of the high privilege of sharing in the

responsibilities attaching to citizenship of so great and glorious a city.

I desire herewith to tender my grateful thanks to the London County Council for their permission to reproduce the interesting coloured Map that stands as frontispiece to this book, also the photographs of the New County Hall, and the Workmen's Cottages at Tottenham. Similarly I wish to thank the Library Committee of the Corporation of the City of London for permission to use the photographs of the Roman Pavement and the Charter of William I. This opportunity may also be taken to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Librarian-in-Chief of the Guildhall Library, and his Staff, for the valuable assistance they have given me on numerous occasions when, in search of information, I have visited this noble Library so generously maintained by the City Corporation for the free use and enjoyment of all who care to explore its riches.

F. S.

5, FIG TREE COURT,
THE TEMPLE, LONDON, E.C.

June, 1915.

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A PRIMER OF
London Citizenship

CHAPTER I

LONDON—THE GROWTH OF THE AGES

During 2,000 Years

THE beginnings of London are lost in the mists of antiquity. London (or Llyn-din, a name of undoubted Celtic origin), at the time when Julius Cæsar invaded the country in B.C. 55, appears to have been the capital of a tribe called by him the "Trinobantes." Their town, "Trinobantum," or Londinium—afterwards Augusta Trinobantum or Colonia Augusta—was described by Tacitus, the Roman historian, writing in A.D. 61, as a busy meeting place of traders. Eight of the great Roman roads radiated from it, and it must therefore have been a centre of considerable trade.

After the withdrawal of the Roman legions in the early years of the fifth century, no historical references to London are found for a long period. As to whether the Saxon invasion of our country, which began about 449, was accompanied by a total destruction of the Roman City of Londinium, we have no authentic

information. Some writers of weight hold that London was practically wiped out and ceased to exist. On the other hand, certain competent authorities believe in the continuity of London's existence throughout the change from Roman to Saxon dominion. However that may be, we learn from the Saxon Chronicle that Augustine, the first bishop of Canterbury, consecrated in 604 a bishop, Mellitus* by name, who was appointed to the See of London. From this and other contemporary records, we may conclude that by the beginning of the seventh century the city was again an important place, and that it was once more peopled by merchants of many nationalities.

Under Alfred the Great, London rose to be the Capital of England, a position of eminence previously claimed by Winchester; and by 1066 the city had become in reality a small self-governing state, whose citizens were sufficiently powerful and influential to exact a treaty from the Conqueror, and a Charter addressed to the Bishop (Godfrey by name), the Portreeve (in later Charters styled the Mayor), and the Burgesses. In this document, which is still preserved, and of which a facsimile illustration is here given, William promises to the burgesses that they shall be "law-worthy," *i.e.* possessed of the same privileges as they were in the days of Edward the Confessor. This was undoubtedly a great and wise concession on the part of the Conqueror, doing much

* The tomb of Mellitus has recently been discovered in the Church of St. Austin's Abbey, Canterbury.

to disarm the hostility of the citizens of the Capital, who already knew the meaning and value of self-government.

Self-government, indeed, from the earliest times, has been characteristic of London, and is the keynote of her subsequent history. Before Parliament was, the people of London, meeting in "Folkmote," regulated their own municipal affairs. By bearing this in mind, the reader will better understand the difficulties that have arisen in these later days when the population has overflowed its ancient boundaries and grown to its present enormous dimensions.

Whilst London grew, its methods of self-government remained almost stationary until quite recent years. It is hardly too much to say that until Parliament in 1855 set up the Metropolitan Board of Works (now abolished and replaced by the London County Council), the whole administration of the metropolis was medieval in character. Outside the square mile of the City each parish was practically a law to itself, and was governed by the inhabitants of the parish in Vestry assembled. The first few pages of Dickens' "Sketches by Boz" may be read with interest and amusement as showing—without much exaggeration—the quality of the municipal government which obtained in the greater part of London until 1855.

A LOST OPPORTUNITY

Old London was very compact. It was a fortified city. Even up to the eighteenth century the people

dwell within the walls. A very fair idea of the extent of the City before the great fire of 1666 may be gathered by tracing out upon a map of London the area enclosed by Ludgate, Newgate, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, Moorgate, Bishopsgate and Aldgate.

The Great Fire of 1666 was doubtless a blessing in disguise. It purged the plague-stricken, unsanitary city of earlier times. But a great opportunity was lost of making London a model Capital. The re-building of the City was entrusted to Sir Christopher Wren, and had his schemes been followed out, London would have been a different and a more conveniently planned place than it is. Wren desired to reconstruct London with broad main streets regularly and symmetrically spaced.

But no such new and model city was destined to emerge from the ashes of the old. The necessity for haste in reconstruction, and the jealous regard for personal rights, resulted in new buildings being raised on the old sites and foundations. Within the city limits, therefore, the thoroughfares are still narrow and intricate, and much of the effect of the fine architecture of modern times is lost. The streets are too narrow for the buildings to be viewed as a whole.

OUTGROWING OLD FORMS

London suffers in many respects from being a very ancient city. Just as the streets, buildings and bridges which were wide and large and strong enough for the London of earlier times have been found

inconvenient and insufficient for present-day purposes, so we find many of its institutions and methods of local government, which were quite suited to the London of the middle-ages—when the population was comparatively small and confined within the walls—unequal to the task of dealing with the municipal needs of the huge mass of humanity concentrated in twentieth-century London.

That London has “outgrown its clothes,” *i.e.* its old forms of local government, is not to be wondered at. The real marvel is that its municipal administration should be as efficient as it is, considering the very large number of independent authorities between whom it is divided. That complete chaos has not prevailed must be largely due to the ingrained love of law and order of the English race. At the time of the Great Reform Act of 1832, scores of boroughs, especially in the industrial north, suffered from a deplorable administration of their municipal affairs. But whereas in 1835 Parliament passed a law which reconstituted the Borough Corporations of the provincial towns and created Borough Councils elected by the whole body of ratepayers, and armed them with numerous powers, the City of London was exempted from the Act and remained unreformed.

Thus the local government of London is to-day a strange patchwork of things ancient and modern. In the centre is the City, ruled much as it has been for centuries by its ancient Corporation. Outside of this small central area we find a vast population

governed by a group of Councils and other Authorities of recent creation, the scope and duties of which we shall shortly explain.

WHAT IS "LONDON"?

A city advantageously situated upon a tidal river, where trade and commerce can be easily and safely conducted and developed, was certain to attract a large population, and sooner or later to overflow its original boundaries and spread itself in all directions. This is what during the last two hundred years has happened to "London," which, expanding in a haphazard manner without definite plan, now covers some seven hundred square miles. Scores of small towns and villages, each of which in times past had a distinct life and individuality of its own, as well as its own system of local government, have been embraced in the tentacles of what is spoken of loosely as "London."

London is now physically a *unity*, and no longer a mere assemblage of towns and cities, villages and parishes, fused into an apparent whole. In its local government, however, London is unhappily *not* a unity. Although the eye cannot discern where, for instance, the boundaries of the City of London end, and where those of the County of London begin; or where the City of Westminster merges into the Royal Borough of Kensington, or the Royal Borough of Kensington into the Borough of Hammersmith, etc., the local governments of all these areas are strangely separate

and distinct, and even on occasion hostile. In short, the government of London has not followed or kept pace with its physical development. Though in a material sense London is *one*, in its municipal aspect London is *many*.

When speaking of London, it is well, therefore, to understand clearly the area entitled to that name.

At the centre is the old "City of London," having an area of 673 acres—a little over a square mile. This portion is under the management of the Corporation of the City of London, an ancient and august body of which we shall shortly speak. No very great population inhabits this central part of London, the buildings consisting for the most part of warehouses, offices and churches. Though crowded by day, it is computed that only about 20,000 people, chiefly caretakers, sleep in the "City." This is the smallest of the many "Londons."

Outside the City lies the statutory County of London,* an area of nearly 116 square miles, within which are no less than twenty-nine municipal bodies, viz. twenty-eight Borough Councils with the London County Council at their head. The County of London and the City, whose united areas amount to 116.95 square miles, together form what was previously known as the Metropolis (a name still often loosely and erroneously used), and now endowed by statute with the name of the Administrative County of London.*

* Defined by the Local Government Act, 1888. S. 40 (1) and (2).

Then we have also the Metropolitan Police Area, popularly known as "Police London," comprising the district patrolled by the Metropolitan Police Force (see p. 67), covering nearly 700 square miles, with a population of between seven and eight million people. The Metropolitan Police Area (known also as "Greater London") embraces the whole of the County of London and "Outer London," and is defined as "every parish the whole of which is within a radius of fifteen miles of Charing Cross, or any portion of which is within twelve miles—always excluding the old City."

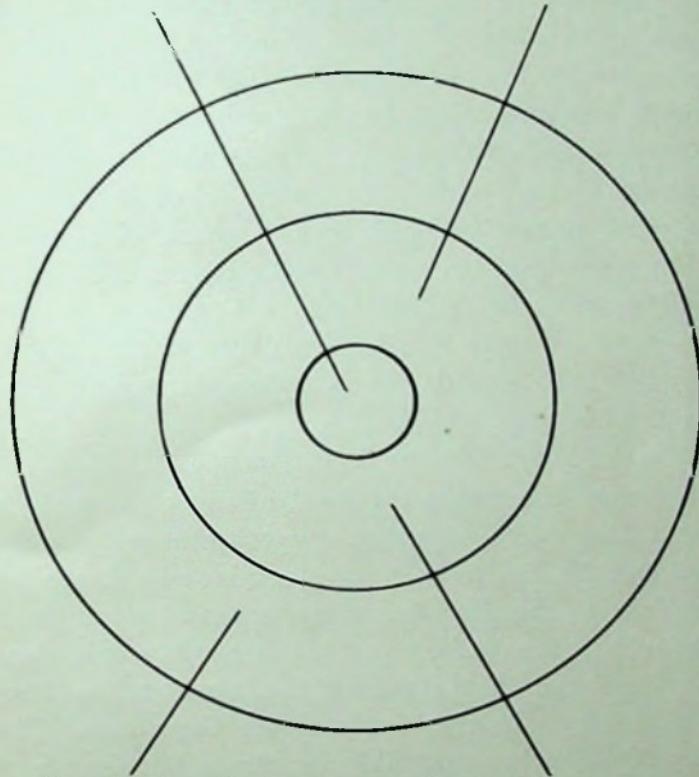
There are still other areas to which the name "London" is popularly applied. Thus the "London" supplied by the Metropolitan Water Board ("Water London") is a different "London" from the "London" included in the jurisdiction of the Central Criminal Court, which differs again from "Police London" or any of the foregoing. The London Postal Area is yet another district. Thus the name "London" has in popular speech a variety of meanings. The "City of London" is, however, a term which applies solely to the square mile under the rule of the City Corporation.

It may assist in remembering the more important of the several "Londons" if we mentally picture the Capital as consisting of *three* concentric rings, the outermost constituting "Outer London," the middle the County of London, and the circle at the centre the old "City." The middle and inner rings

Together forming the Administrative County of London,
formerly termed the Metropolis.

City of London, about
one sq. mile, governed by
the City Corporation.

County of London, 116 sq. miles,
divided into 28 Boroughs, each
with its Council, and over them
all the County Council.



Outer London, about
583 sq. miles, and con-
taining over 160 Local
Authorities.

County of London.

Together forming the Metropolitan Police Area,
or Greater London.

DIAGRAM (NOT TO SCALE) REPRESENTING VARIOUS
“LONDONS.”

can then be regarded as the real "London" (also called the "Administrative County" and formerly the "Metropolis"), whilst the middle and the outer rings comprise "Greater London." As the latter is the area patrolled by the Metropolitan Police, it is also known as the Metropolitan Police Area. "Outer London" may thus be defined as that part of Greater London which lies *outside* the Metropolis but *inside* the Metropolitan Police Area. It can then be further remembered that within the central circle *one* single Municipal Authority holds sway, whilst within the middle ring there are twenty-eight Borough Councils together with the central County Council. In the outer ring are to be found no less than 162 Municipal Councils and Boards of varying degrees of importance.

DIVIDED AUTHORITY

The management of the local affairs of London is thus distinguished from that of every other city in the Kingdom by its lack of civic unity. In Leeds or Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and other great Boroughs, one Authority, the Town Council, does everything for the City except administer the Poor Law, which is in the hands of the Guardians. The Town Council is responsible for the public health of the town, cleans and maintains the streets, lights them, controls the police, owns the water, gas and electricity undertakings, and the markets. In fact, the Town Council provides every municipal requirement of the inhabitants.

In London it is otherwise. Control is divided amongst a large number of municipal authorities, which we will now proceed to survey ; and by reason of its extreme antiquity and importance, we will deal first with the City Corporation.

CHAPTER II

THE CITY CORPORATION

Imperium in Imperio

The City of London, as more than one statesman has declared, is an "imperium in imperio," exercising rights and privileges enjoyed by no other municipal body in the Kingdom. These represent the accumulated heritage of many royal charters and other grants acquired or conferred during the Corporation's unbroken existence of over seven centuries.

The Corporation, which consists of the whole of the citizens or freemen under the style of "the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London," is controlled by the Common Council. This Council is not like Town and County Councils, the creature of Parliament; it existed even before Parliament, and is not merely a deliberative body. To some extent it is a legislative body. For instance, it could remodel its own constitution without going to Parliament for powers. It can also levy such rates as it thinks fit.

The Common Council comprises twenty-six Aldermen, with the Lord Mayor at their head, and 206 Common Councillors. The Aldermen and the Common Councillors are elected by the Wards. The Aldermen hold office for life, but the Common Councillors are

Ref

W. Chancery Lane
X. Clerkenwell
Y. Barbican
Z. Spitalfields
a. Moorgate
b. Tower Hill
c. Aldersgate
d. Eastminster
e. London Bridge
f. London Bridge
g. Newgate House



subject every year to re-election on St. Thomas' Day, December 21st. Very rarely do they fail to be re-elected.

The square mile of the City is divided into twenty-seven Wards, some of them having very quaint names, *e.g.* the Portsoken, Cordwainers, Candlewick, Vintry and Bassishaw Wards. The electors must be rated householders before they can vote at a "Ward-mote," as a meeting of the electors is called. The largest Ward is the "Farringdon Without" (the name indicating that it once lay outside the city walls), which returns sixteen members to the Common Council; whilst the Ward of "Bridge Without," which is represented on the Council by an Alderman, exists only in name and is a survival of the times when the City exercised rule over Southwark on the south side of the river.

The Common Council discharges the ordinary duties of a Borough Council, *e.g.* it maintains a police force, it paves, cleanses and lights the streets of the "City," sees to the drainage of the houses, and performs the duties of a health authority.* In one or two matters the Common Council has jurisdiction extending beyond the City boundaries. Thus, for instance, it is the

* Though it administers these matters well and efficiently, it is plainly a source of extra and unnecessary expense to have separate buildings, officials, and staffs for the City alone. All such duties could be administered, at less cost to the public, as part of a general scheme for the Government of London. But entrenched behind its ancient charters, the City Corporation is stoutly opposed to every proposal for sharing its rights or duties with any other body, or of allowing any Government department to interfere in the management of its municipal business.

Sanitary Authority for the whole of the Port of London—a matter which will be more fully dealt with hereafter. The City Corporation, acting through its Common Council, is also a County Council for "the County of the City of London," and exercises many of the powers of a County Council.

London being the financial centre of the world, the rents of offices in the City are enormously high, and the rates, therefore, bring in a very large revenue—a penny in the pound yielding well over £20,000.*

THE LORD MAYOR

The Lord Mayor is elected on September 29th at the Guildhall by the "liverymen" of the City Companies or Guilds, and comes into office on November 9th, on which day he goes in procession to the Law Courts, there to be "sworn in" before the Lord Chief Justice of England. A "liveryman" is a "freeman" who, as will be explained later, has become entitled—usually by payment of a fee—to wear the "livery" of one or other of the many ancient City Companies. A charter of King John granted in 1214 directs that the Mayor shall be chosen annually, which has ever since then been done. The same individual has, however, often been chosen more than once. Thus Sir Richard ("Dick") Whittington was "thrice Lord Mayor of

* In Poplar, on the other hand, with many times the number of rated houses, a penny in the pound yields only a little over £3,000. This is because Poplar is a poor district where rents are low. The property in the City is assessed at nearly six millions sterling, whereas Poplar has a rateable value of under one million sterling.

London"—in reality four times, viz. in 1397, 1398, 1406 and 1419.

As head of the Corporation, the Lord Mayor presides over the "Aldermen and Commons of the City of London in Common Council assembled." Historically there can be no doubt that the Lord Mayor of London ranks higher than any other civic official in the realm. His election is approved by the King, by whom he is always knighted, sometimes receiving a baronetcy. His high temporary rank is indicated by the Earl's robe which he is entitled to wear when meeting the Sovereign. He is—during his term of office—entitled to be styled "the Right Honourable," and has the unique but rarely used right of sitting on the Treasury Bench of the House of Commons and of taking part in any debate in which the privileges of the City are in question. He is officially informed of the death of the Sovereign, and is charged with the duty of conveying the news to the City. He is summoned to attend the taking of the Oath by a new Sovereign on his accession, and at the Coronation is entitled to be present as Chief Butler. The Lord Mayor is Lord Lieutenant within the City, and there is sent regularly to him the password for the Tower of London, which he is thus able to enter by day or night. The Lord Mayor is not only the Chief Magistrate of the City, but ranks also as a judge, and sits on the Bench at the Old Bailey. Indeed, unless the Lord Mayor or one of the Aldermen is present during the proceedings, the Sessions at the Central Criminal Court—the "Old Bailey"—

must be suspended. The Lord Mayor therefore personifies the freedom and independence which London won for itself in ages past against the prerogative of the Crown.

During his period of office, the Lord Mayor resides at the Mansion House, and there dispenses a lavish hospitality. A visit to the "City" is a usual part of the programme of all foreign monarchs when sojourning in this country as guests of the King, and it is customary for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to entertain these distinguished visitors at luncheon in the ancient and beautiful Guildhall, one of the most interesting civic buildings in existence. It is at the Guildhall, also, that on November 9th—"Lord Mayor's Day"—in accordance with ancient custom, His Majesty's Ministers are feasted sumptuously by the "City Fathers" under the presidency of the new Lord Mayor.

Nowhere in the world, in short, will you find so ancient and remarkable a Council with so long and unbroken an existence, and with so many immemorial rights, as that which rules the square mile known as the "City"; nor does the civic life of any country afford a more picturesque and interesting figure than that of London's Lord Mayor.

THE ALDERMEN

Aldermen were first appointed by a Charter of Henry II. in 1242. In 1394, Richard II., by a Charter, directed them to be chosen for life, which is still the rule.

The Court of Aldermen is the Bench of Magistrates for the City. Each is a Justice of the Peace and may preside at the Police Courts at the Guildhall and the Mansion House. The Aldermen are also Commissioners of the Central Criminal Court at Old Bailey, and one of them sits beside the Judge. But though the Lord Mayor or an Alderman must always be in attendance there, he takes no active part in the trial, which is conducted in precisely the same manner as in other Assize Courts. The Aldermen also manage the City Police, decide disputes at Ward Elections, and admit Freemen.

The Magisterial functions of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are as follows: The Lord Mayor sits as Magistrate daily (or an Alderman acts for him) at the Justice Room in the Mansion House for hearing all police cases for the Eastern division of the City. Aldermen also attend by rotation for a week at a time in the Justice Room at the Guildhall to transact the Magisterial business (*i.e.* police cases) of the Western division of the City. Two Aldermen attend twice a week at the Guildhall to hear summonses. The Aldermen also attend the Guildhall Sessions eight times a year.

THE CORPORATION COMMITTEES

The Corporation meets as a body once a fortnight, but its principal work is carried on by Committees of which there are about thirty, some of them administering great trusts and charitable funds, others

undertaking services of the highest value to the whole of London.

The "Bridge House Estates Committee," for instance, administers a Trust Fund which dates back to the building of the first London Bridge in the twelfth century. Within recent years this Committee, which maintains the City Bridges (not those east or west of the City), has been very active in improving the means of communication between the two sides of the river. For example, they have built the Tower Bridge at a cost of a million sterling, and an Act of Parliament has been lately passed for building another bridge to be known as St. Paul's Bridge, and for reconstructing Southwark Bridge, at a joint cost of one and a-half million sterling. Erected by the Corporation of the City out of their Trust Funds, these magnificent and costly public works are of benefit to the whole nation.

In the work of three other Committees, every Londoner has an interest, viz. those that manage the great markets of London :—Smithfield (meat), Billingsgate (fish), the Metropolitan Cattle Market at Islington, the Foreign Cattle Market at Deptford, and Leadenhall (poultry, provisions, etc.).

Perhaps the reader has never realised how important a thing is a Market—whether held in London or elsewhere—whither men may bring their goods for sale or exchange, and where prices of commodities are settled by competition amongst buyers. Not only is a market a collecting centre ; it is also a distributing

centre. It is like a heart that draws the blood to itself and then propels it to all parts of the body.

In early times, to become a Market Town was a privilege eagerly sought for and highly esteemed. Not infrequently the "Market Rights" were granted by Royal Charter, not to the town, but to the lord of the manor, who exacted a toll upon every article brought into the market place. The fruit and vegetable market at Covent Garden is an instance of this character.

For close upon 600 years the market rights of the City have belonged to the Corporation, and to this day, as owner and Market Authority, the Corporation, acting through its Market Committees, provides, maintains and manages the markets under their control for the benefit of the whole metropolis, without levying anything more than the market tolls. All the Corporation Markets have been reconstructed during the last half-century, and the expenditure upon them since that time has amounted to several millions sterling.

The provinces share in the enjoyment of the Corporation's Markets. Supplies from every part of the country are sent up for disposal at these centres of trade. Further it is estimated that more than one-third of all the beef and mutton imported into the United Kingdom passes through Smithfield Market; whilst fish that is caught all round the coast, and as far away as Iceland or the White Sea, is brought to Billingsgate for sale.

The maintenance of London's markets at a high pitch of efficiency is absolutely essential if the task of supplying the millions of inhabitants of the metropolis with their daily food is to be accomplished with regularity and certainty.

SUPPORT OF EDUCATION

In the matter of higher education, the Corporation holds a unique place. Jointly with the Mercers' Company (one of the old Guilds described hereafter), the Corporation administers the Gresham Trust dating from the time of Lord Mayor Gresham, a member of the Mercers' Company who lived in Tudor times. Gresham was one of the most philanthropic, as well as one of the most illustrious citizens on London's bede-roll of fame. To his far-sighted generosity London owes the Royal Exchange, and Gresham College (now located in Basinghall Street in the City), where three courses of lectures on various subjects are delivered annually.

We find several of the Committees of the Corporation charged with the promotion of Education and the Cultivation of the Arts.

One Committee, for example, manages the City of London School for Boys and the City of London School for Girls. The Boys' School—a handsome building on the Victoria Embankment near Blackfriars' Bridge—was erected in 1882 at the expense of the Corporation, and is under their government. It is maintained out of funds derived chiefly from a

bequest left in 1442 for educational purposes by John Carpenter, a famous "Common Clerk" of the City. Adjacent to the Boys' School is the School for Girls, founded in recent years out of a bequest of £20,000 to the Corporation in 1881 by the late William Ward, of Brixton.

Close again to these institutions stands the Guildhall School of Music, one of the most successful educational undertakings of the Corporation, having been established by them in 1880 for the purpose of providing high-class instruction in the Art and Science of Music, at a moderate cost. It began its career in 1879 as the Guildhall Orchestral Society, and under the control of the Music Committee of the Court of Common Council, has developed into one of the most important European "conservatoires." Over 2,000 students are receiving a musical education at this school. Yet another educational establishment managed by the Corporation is the Freeman's Orphan School at Brixton, opened in 1854.

Another Corporate Committee undertakes the management of the Guildhall Library, Museum, and Art Gallery, which are maintained for the use and enjoyment of the general public at a yearly cost to the Corporation of several thousands sterling. The Library is of great antiquity, being originally founded in 1425 by the executors of William Bury and Richard ("Dick") Whittington. John Carpenter also bequeathed to it a valuable collection of books. It suffered terribly in the Great Fire, and was re-established

in its present form in 1824. The Library, which is specially rich in works dealing with London, is free, and is used by nearly half a million people annually. The Museum contains many interesting relics of Old London, whilst the Art Gallery, also open free of charge, contains a fine collection of pictures by Romney, Reynolds, Opie, Northcote, and other British Masters. Loan collections frequently exhibited here constitute a valuable adjunct to London's educational resources.

PORT OF LONDON SANITARY COMMITTEE

To pass in review the work of all the Committees of the Court of Common Council would be tedious and out of place in this small handbook. One other function discharged by the Corporation must, however, be touched upon, because it involves the exercise of authority far beyond the city boundaries. We refer, of course, to the function of the Corporation as the Sanitary Authority for the Port of London. This work is supervised by a special Committee, which has to deal with all cases of infectious disease brought into the Port. To safeguard the capital from cholera, plague, and other diseases, the Committee maintains a staff of medical officers and inspectors, who visit the ships on their arrival in the Port and who send all suspicious cases of illness to an isolation hospital at Denton, near Gravesend.

THE "IRISH SOCIETY"

One remarkable Committee of the Corporation deserves especial mention by reason of its historic

interest, although, strictly speaking, it is not a corporate committee, since when once appointed the Corporation can no longer control its actions. This is the Committee known as the " Irish Society," founded three centuries ago by James I. for the colonisation of the " Plantation of Ulster." Under its Charter, the entire income from the trust fund of the Society, amounting to nearly £20,000 per annum, has to be expended for the good of the districts concerned, and to this provision is attributable in no small degree the striking prosperity that Derry and Coleraine have long enjoyed in contrast with the rest of Ireland.

OTHER SERVICES

The Corporation also has a Cemetery and a Crematorium at Ilford, and possesses a very fine Ambulance Service. The electrically-driven, smoothly-running ambulance cars manned by the City Police, are a familiar sight to those whose work takes them often into the heart of London.

In its capacity as a County Council, the Corporation maintains a Lunatic Asylum at Stone, near Dartford. The famous and historic Royal Bethlehem Hospital in the Lambeth Road, a noble home of healing for the insane (the original Bethlem or " Bedlam "), with its spacious grounds of many acres, is also under the management of a Committee of the City Corporation.

THE CITY'S LAW COURTS

From time immemorial the City has had its own

Courts of Law exercising criminal as well as civil jurisdiction.

The Central Criminal Court (the "Old Bailey") is now regulated by an Act passed in 1834, and is the Criminal Court not for the City alone, but for an area of 420 square miles with a population of over six and a-half millions, comprising the Administrative Counties of London and Middlesex, and parts of Essex, Surrey and Hertford. Twelve sessions of this Court are held annually. The Court House in the Old Bailey is provided and maintained by the City Corporation. Its Judges are the Judges of the High Court, the Lord Mayor, the Aldermen, the Recorder, the Common Serjeant, and the Judges of the City of London Court (see below). The Corporation pays the salaries of all the judges other than those of the High Court.

The Lord Mayor's Court, whose jurisdiction in civil causes extends to all places within the City, ranks in authority and dignity with the High Court of Justice. The Recorder presides over this Court, or in his absence the Common Serjeant. The sittings are held in the Guildhall.

The City of London Court may be briefly described as the equivalent in the City of London of the County Courts in the remainder of the Kingdom, *i.e.* it is a Court for the recovery of debts and demands not exceeding £100. The Court is housed in a building adjacent to the Guildhall. The Police Courts at the Mansion House and Guildhall have already been mentioned. (See p. 17.)

THE CITY OF LONDON POLICE

The City possesses its own Police Force, a picked and highly paid body whose duty it is to protect and watch over life and property within the square mile of the City. The Force numbers about 1,200 men all told, under the control of a Commissioner appointed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common Council, subject to the approval of His Majesty.

Unlike every other police force in the Kingdom, the City Police receive no grant from Parliament, being maintained entirely at the expense of the Corporation. The manner in which the City Police control the traffic at the points of greatest congestion excites the admiration of all visitors to the Capital. Their politeness in answering questions and in assisting the inquirer is equally the subject of eulogy on the part of all strangers from abroad.

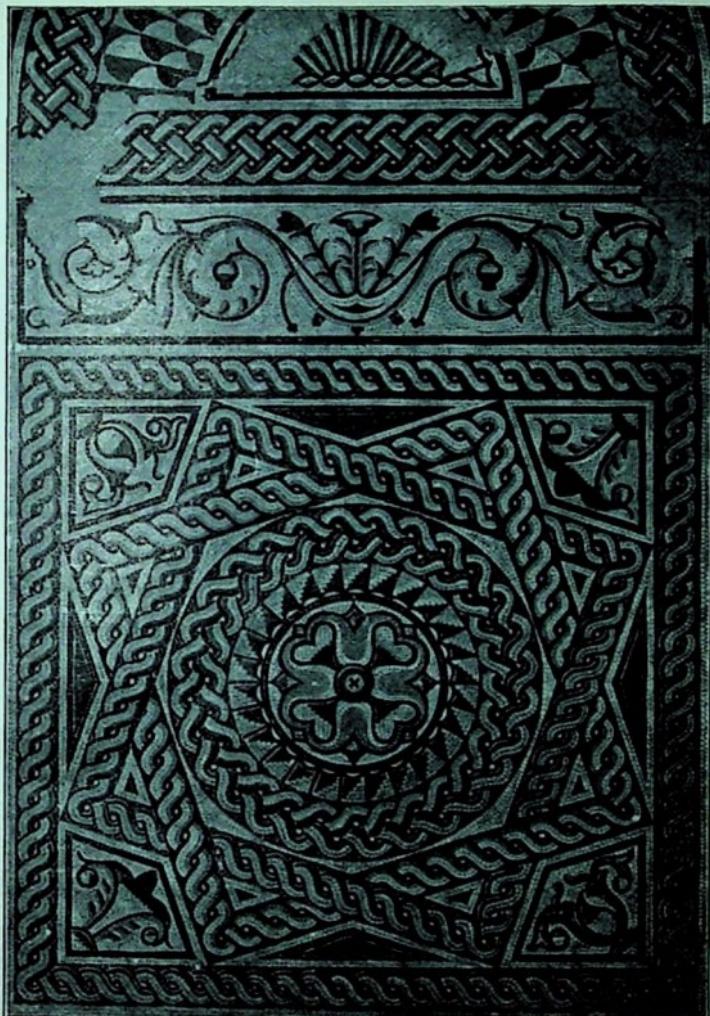
CHAPTER III

THE CITY CORPORATION (*continued*)

Acquisition of Open Spaces

One of the finest objects to which the City Corporation has of late years devoted its great private revenues is to the acquisition of large open spaces or "lungs" within, or near, the London area. Many wide tracts of breezy common, or of forest, have been purchased by the Corporation, and are maintained at their expense for the use and enjoyment, not only of Londoners, but of the nation generally. First among these stands Epping Forest, a splendid stretch of natural woodland in Essex, acquired in 1882 by the Corporation at a cost of nearly one quarter of a million sterling, and dedicated by them for the use of the public in perpetuity. Another purchase that has been made in late years is a tract of seventy-seven acres at West Ham, which has been converted into a fine pleasure ground for the workers in this densely populated and very poor district on the East side of London.

Among other magnificent spaces that have been secured to the public by the munificence of the City Corporation, are Burnham Beeches in Buckinghamshire; Coulsdon, Farthing Downs, Kenley and Riddlesdown Commons in Surrey; West Wickham Common



(Photographed by kind permission of the Library Committee of the City Corporation.)

ROMAN TESSELLATED PAVEMENT IN THE GUILDHALL MUSEUM.

This exquisitely designed and executed pavement, the rich colouring of which is lost in the photograph, was discovered in 1869, some 19 feet below the present street level, at the point where Queen Victoria Street cuts across Bucklersbury. It is approximately 17 ft. long by 10 wide, and formed the floor of a room in some Roman house. It well indicates the high pitch of civilization to which the Roman Londinium had attained.

in Kent ; Wanstead Park to the north-east ; Highgate Wood to the north ; and Queen's Park to the north-west of London. It will also be remembered that in 1914 the Crystal Palace and its beautiful grounds of 200 acres on the slopes of Sydenham Hill, previously in private ownership, were bought out of a Fund raised by public subscription at the instance of the Lord Mayor, thus preserving in perpetuity to Londoners one of the most beautiful and breezy "lung-spaces" in the southern suburbs.

THE LIVERY COMPANIES

It would be impossible to discuss the government of London without making some reference to the famous Livery Companies, which in times past have played an important part in the development of London's commercial life. To begin with, the "Guilds" (or "Gilds," as they were first called) were associations of craftsmen or traders for the protection of the "art and mystery" of their craft or trade. Thus the Grocers' Guild looked after those who dealt in spices, pepper, etc. ; the Goldsmiths' after the workers in the precious metals ; the Vintners' after the wine sellers and their wine ; the Merchant Taylors' after the cloth merchants and the cloth in which they dealt ; and so forth. When any attempt at fraud was detected, the offenders were severely dealt with by their respective Guilds.

For centuries the Guilds,* or Companies, were of the

* The name " Guild " was changed by Edward III. to that of " Livery Company " in consequence of the distinctive dress worn in connection with the different trades

greatest service in inspecting the work of the craftsmen, and thus providing the public with a guarantee of quality. Each Guild also watched over the general welfare of its members by constituting itself into a sort of Friendly Society, which raised large sums for old, poor, or sick members, and for the education of their children. Then, too, the Master and Wardens of the Companies settled disputes between employers and men, and carefully upheld the claims of the apprenticeship system as being the best for producing skilled labour. So important was the work of the Guilds considered to be, that from the time of Edward III. various enactments were passed making admission to the Freedom of the City dependent upon membership of a Guild.

The Guilds built fine Halls for the convenience of the members, and when meeting in these corporate homes, they were wont to discuss business over a substantial meal. In course of time the Guilds, or Companies, grew rich and powerful, and their Halls became the scenes of much junketing. Indeed the eating and drinking at their banquets became in the last century somewhat of a by-word. Even to this day the Livery Companies are credited with being lavishly hospitable in their entertainments.

The wealth of the Guilds attracted the attention of the Crown, and several of our earlier Sovereigns were not above borrowing money by forced loans from the wealthy Livery Companies.

When in 1666 the Great Fire of London destroyed

their old halls, the greatest confusion arose. Not only had the Companies' Charters and other documents and title-deeds been burnt, and their plate melted, but the Royal Acknowledgments of the compulsory loans were also lost. New Charters were, however, granted by James II., a number of the halls were rebuilt, and the Companies began to resume their former importance. About the beginning of the nineteenth century the City Companies seemed to lose contact with the trades with which they had so long been associated, partly owing, no doubt, to the rapid development of the industrial life of London, and partly to the gradual breakdown of the apprenticeship system.

THEIR PRESENT FUNCTION

To-day very few of the City Companies have any active connection with the trades for which they were founded ; nevertheless, the seventy-seven which still survive are in possession of vast revenues, originally accumulated for the benefit of these particular trades and crafts. Of some parts of this property the Companies are only Trustees, the revenue being applied to educational and benevolent purposes, *e.g.* schools, almshouses, pensions for poor and distressed members of the Company, etc. ; but of their "corporate" property they are absolute owners and can dispose of the income as they please.

The twelve greatest of the surviving Companies are the Mercers', Grocers', Drapers', Fishmongers', Goldsmiths', Skinners', Merchant Taylors', Haberdashers',

Salters', Ironmongers', Vintners', and Clothworkers', whose total revenues are stated to amount to over £625,000 per annum. The Halls belonging to these Companies are among the most ornate and interesting buildings in London.

The Companies disburse a large share of their wealth upon all manner of educational and charitable objects. In recent years they have spent large sums in promoting technical instruction. Thus the Corporation and some of the wealthier Livery Companies (notably the Clothmakers', Grocers', Merchant Taylors', Drapers', Ironmongers', Mercers', Goldsmiths', Salters', Armourers', and Brasiers') in 1878 combined to found the "City and Guilds of London Institute," whose "Central Technical College" now permanently located at South Kensington has become an integral part of the Imperial College of Science and Technology of the University of London. Under the title of the "City and Guilds College," it devotes itself entirely to the teaching of engineering.

The Technical College in Finsbury, which is doing a fine work for technical education in London (particularly in the domains of technical electricity and applied chemistry) also owes its foundations to the Institute, as also the South London Technical Art School in Kennington Park Road. The Goldsmiths' Company also, out of their own revenues, have built a fine Technical Institute at New Cross (opened in 1891) and set aside funds for its maintenance. In 1904 the Company presented this Institute to the University of London.

THE FREEDOM OF THE CITY

The "liverymen" of the City Companies, who number about 8,000, possess certain municipal and political privileges. For instance, they elect the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and a few of the other great officers of the Corporation, whilst all "liverymen" who reside within twenty-five miles of the City borders, have also a vote in the Parliamentary elections for the two members which the City returns to the House of Commons. Admittance to the membership of the Livery Companies carries with it the "Freedom of the City," and is, therefore, often sought for.

Membership of a Company is obtained either by *Servitude*, i.e. by apprenticeship to a member of the Company according to the custom of the City ; or by *Patrimony*, i.e. being the son or daughter of a member ; or by *Purchase*—a method which has proved convenient in modern times now that the apprenticeship system has almost fallen into disuse. The Freedom of the City (or of a Company) is sometimes presented as a *Gift*—a procedure reserved solely as a mode of doing honour to the recipient. One may from time to time read in the newspapers that when the City, in its corporate capacity, entertains at the Guildhall a foreign potentate or some other very distinguished person, a presentation is made to the guest with much ceremony, of the Freedom of the City, the certificate being enclosed in a valuable gold casket.

CURIOS PRIVILEGES

A few of the ancient companies still continue to exercise powers of a remarkable character. These rights were originally conferred by ancient charters, and have since then been confirmed by Statute. That these responsible duties are still performed by certain Livery Companies, constitutes a strong testimony to the efficient manner in which throughout the centuries they have discharged their task.

The Fishmongers' Company, for instance, whose fine Hall on the north-west side of London Bridge is conspicuous to all who pass that way, has from time immemorial exercised, and still exercises, the jurisdiction conferred upon it by several Charters, whereby its "fishmeters"—to give them their quaint name—attend Billingsgate and other Metropolitan Fish Markets, for the purpose of examining into the wholesomeness of the fish offered for sale. They have the right to seize and condemn unsound fish and to prosecute the seller. The Company are empowered also under certain Acts of Parliament to prosecute those who offer salmon and oysters for sale out of their respective protected seasons, or crabs and lobsters less than a specified size.

The Goldsmiths' Company, whose magnificent Hall stands near the General Post Office, existed as a voluntary association as far back as 1180, its object being to protect the trade in precious metals against fraud. The assaying (*i.e.* testing) and stamping of

gold and silver plate was always one of the Company's chief functions and continues to be so to this day. The Company's "hallmark" on silver and gold articles sets the standard of quality for the whole country, and even a specimen of the metal from which the coinage of the realm is made is annually brought to Goldsmiths' Hall to be there tested and approved.

The Gunmakers' Company also performs a valuable function in testing gun, pistol, and other barrels made in London or within ten miles thereof—a highly necessary precaution. After testing they mark the barrels to certify that they are safe from the danger of bursting. This function the Gunmakers' Company have exercised since their foundation in 1637, under a Charter granted by Charles I. The Company's privileges have been confirmed again and again by Acts of Parliament, and were extended in 1868 to the inspection and testing of all imported small arms.

Another ancient right largely affecting the general public is that exercised by the Apothecaries' Company. The certificate or diploma L.S.A. (Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries) awarded upon the results of a course of examinations held at the Apothecaries' Company's Hall in Water Lane, near Blackfriars' Bridge, entitles its holder to practise medicine and surgery in Great Britain, and qualifies also for appointments in the Army, Navy, and Indian Medical Services.

Yet another instance. Up to 1911, when an Act of Parliament modified its powers, the Stationers' Company had peculiar rights in connection with printed

matter, books, etc. It was essential that these should be registered at the Company's Hall before any action could be brought in the Courts for infringement of copyright. "Entered at Stationers' Hall" is a phrase found on innumerable publications prior to 1911.

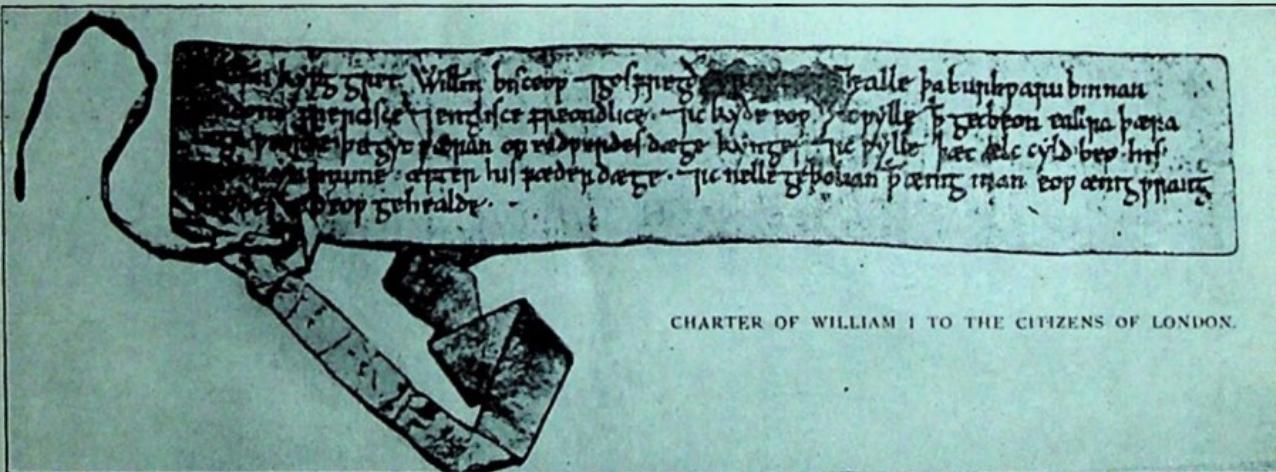
CHAPTER IV

THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL

The Greatest of Municipal Councils

If by reason of its antiquity the City Corporation is entitled to the first place in any account of the local government of the Capital, the London County Council, though of recent origin, must certainly be ranked as the most important of all the administrative Authorities in the Metropolis, by reason of the large area and vast population over which it exercises its powers. Whereas the authority and prerogatives of the City Corporation are limited to the central square mile of London with its population of about 20,000, the County Council has under its charge an area of 116 square miles with a population of about 4½ millions. The London County Council has indeed a greater population to care for, and larger revenues to raise and disburse, than many an independent sovereign state. It is the greatest Municipal Council in the world.

The London County Council was constituted under the Local Government Act of 1888 to undertake certain municipal services which to some extent had been performed in London by an earlier body known as the Metropolitan Board of Works. The Council took over the area which this earlier body had had



CHARTER OF WILLIAM I TO THE CITIZENS OF LONDON.

(Photographed by kind permission of the Library Committee of the City Corporation.)

TRANSLATION OF THE ANGLO-SAXON.

"William the King greets William Bishop and Godfrey portreeve and all burgesses within London French English friendly. And I give you to know that ye be all those laws worthy that ye were in King Edward's day. And I will that every child be his father's heir after his father's day, and I will not suffer that any man offer you any wrong. God keep you."

This precious scrap of parchment, one of the foundation stones of London's liberties, is preserved among other Charters at the Guildhall. The wax seal which was once attached has perished with lapse of time. The photograph is five-sixths of the actual size of the original. (See p. 2.)

under its administration, and for the first time, the inhabitants of the Metropolis acquired a direct control over the most important branches of municipal work.

THE OLD AND THE NEW

One may perhaps wonder when in 1888 a new Council was projected, why the old City Corporation was not elevated into the position of the County Council with the Lord Mayor as its president. Although this was at the time strongly urged, the City Corporation prefers to remain undisturbed in the administration of the municipal affairs of the central square mile, and in possession of its ancient privileges and its large private revenues.

To induce the City Corporation with its vested interests and immemorial traditions to enter into any new scheme of municipal government for London, would be like putting "new wine into old bottles"—the one might destroy the other. Any expansion of the functions of the City Corporation into those of a Central Council would certainly give more substance to the picturesque ceremonial with which the work of the Corporation is surrounded. But the repugnance—quite easy to understand—of this ancient body to any departmental interference with its time-hallowed rights and privileges will always lead to strong opposition on the part of the "City" to any proposals for merging the Common Council into an Authority of wider scope.

A body so old as the City Corporation might be

thought to have outlived its usefulness. The very fact that it has not done so, and that it accomplishes much good work in its own sphere, complicates the problem of dealing with it against its will.

For certain purposes, the "Administrative County" *includes* the square mile of the old "City," the whole then constituting what was formerly known to the law as the "Metropolis" (but is now entitled by statute to the name of London), 116.95 square miles in extent. For the most part, however, we must regard the County Council as having under its care the County of London, an area of some 116 square miles, and containing a population of about 4½ million people. Over this large area, the London County Council exercises powers and discharges a variety of important services on a scale comparable with that of a Department of the State rather than a Municipal Authority. It is not too much to say that the present high level of health and many of the amenities of life of London's millions are directly attributable to the beneficent activity of this great and powerful Council.

The London County Council consists of a Chairman, 19 Aldermen, and 118 Councillors. The latter are directly elected every three years, in March, by the ratepayers of 58 electoral divisions. Women as well as men may vote at the County Council elections. The Councillors elect the Aldermen. The term of office for the latter is six years, and 10 or 9 retire every three years. They are eligible for re-election. The Councillors all retire at the end of the three years for

which they are elected. They, too, may be re-elected. The first meeting of the London County Council was held on March 21st, 1889, under the presidency of Lord Rosebery. The ninth Council was elected in March, 1913.

The official work of the County Council is at present carried on in various scattered buildings, the Central Offices being at Spring Gardens, near Charing Cross. Meanwhile, a magnificent County Hall is rising into being on the Surrey side of the river, between Westminster and Charing Cross Bridges, where ultimately the whole of the Council's many departments will be assembled.

Though politics are supposed to be excluded from our local parliaments, it is practically impossible to deprive the election of a large public body such as the London County Council of all political significance, with the result that two parties exist in the Council—the "Progressives" and "Moderates" (or "Municipal Reformers")—roughly corresponding to the Liberals and Conservatives in Imperial Parliament. In most of their work, however, these political divisions disappear, and both parties labour harmoniously and strenuously for the good of London.

THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL

The London County Council wields all the powers which belong to the provincial County Councils, and in addition administers many municipal services not committed to the care of other County Councils. To

begin with, the Council is the central authority for Public Heath in the Metropolis, and as such, has charge of the main drainage system of London over which nearly twelve millions sterling has already been spent, with the magnificent result that London is now one of the healthiest places in the world. To watch over the health of the inhabitants, the Council maintains some hundreds of Sanitary Inspectors, who visit factories, workshops, overcrowded tenements, etc., and report to the Council upon their sanitary conditions. The Council also employs a number of women as Health Visitors to give advice to mothers upon the proper care and management of young children.

The Council is also the Highway Authority for the Metropolis, and in that capacity maintains the *main roads* as well as the river bridges and subways as far as these lie outside the City limits. For the *streets*, as we shall shortly learn, the Borough Councils are responsible.

Street improvements on a large scale fall within the range of work of the County Council, and many and great are the improvements already accomplished. Thus, "Kingsway," the fine new thoroughfare connecting the Strand with Holborn, and "Aldwych" at its southern end, are among the latest and most noteworthy achievements of the Council. The tunnels under the Thames at Rotherhithe and Woolwich may also be mentioned in this connection.

The sweeping away of slum areas is a further duty

falling upon the Council, and one which involves the corresponding duty of housing the workpeople who are thus turned out of their homes. Many fine blocks of artisans' dwellings have been erected by the Council to accommodate those who would otherwise have been rendered homeless by the demolition of insanitary house property. The workpeople must live *somewhere*, and if pushed out of one overcrowded district, they drift into another and begin again to create fresh slums.

The County Council has spent large sums in providing healthy homes at reasonable rents for the working classes. At Tooting, Tottenham, Croydon, Hammersmith and elsewhere, the Council has purchased estates and laid them out on garden lines, erecting many hundreds of cottages which, with their pretty gardens, are models of what working-class homes may be.

The provision of Lodging Houses for men has also been a distinctive and interesting feature of the Council's work in housing the working classes. Parker House in Drury Lane, Bruce House in Clare Market, and Carrington House at Deptford, each accommodating a few hundred men, may be taken as examples. In their general scope and management they follow the lines of the six well-known "Rowton Houses" (started in 1892 by the late Lord Rowton), where for 6d. or 7d. a night a man may secure a comfortable cubicle, with free use of the kitchen, reading rooms, etc., and where a hot bath may be had for one penny.

These excellent houses are not charitable institutions, the charges made being sufficient to cover the costs of maintenance.

OPEN SPACES AGAIN

In their efforts to render London a more beautiful as well as a healthier city, and to give the toilers who spend their days in the factories and workshops more opportunities for outdoor recreation, the Council has provided numerous parks and open spaces (in addition to those taken over from the old Board of Works*), and now maintains some 118 open spaces, totalling over 5,000 acres, nearly one half of which have been bought or otherwise acquired since 1888, when the Council came into existence. Very many of these sites would have been built over had the Council not stepped in and purchased them for the use of the public. The upkeep of these fine "lung spaces" is, of course, a costly business—the provision of music in the Parks alone amounting to several thousand pounds per annum. No money, however, has been better spent than that which has secured for ever to the people of London these recreative areas where children can play in safety, and where young and old may

* Those taken over were:—Wormwood Scrubs, Highbury Fields, Clissold Park, Ravenscourt Park, Parliament Hill; also the Victoria (300 acres), Battersea (180 acres), Finsbury (115 acres), Kennington and Bethnal Green Parks. The larger open spaces acquired by the County Council are:—(1) Outside the county, Hainault Forest and Marble Hill; (2) inside the county, Avery Hill, Bostall Heath Extension, Brockwell Park, Eltham Park, Golder's Hill, Hilly Fields, Ladywell Recreation Ground, Springfield Park, Wandsworth Park, and Waterloo Park.

breathe a sweeter atmosphere than would otherwise have been possible for them.

THE ROYAL PARKS

Within the Metropolitan Police Area are certain other magnificent parks of which every Londoner is justly proud. These are the Royal Parks, belonging nominally to the Crown, but maintained by Parliament in the interests of the nation.

Hyde Park, with its 390 acres, was land originally belonging to Westminster Abbey and confiscated at the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII. With its fine expanse of grass, its bright flower beds and clumps of shrubbery, its noble old trees, its beautiful ornamental lake—the Serpentine—an enlargement of the river Westbourne), its broad avenues crowded with carriages, its Rotten Row (Route du Roi) alive with equestrians, loungers of every nationality and social grade, Hyde Park at the height of the season, presents a scene which, in brilliance and in mingled contrasts, can probably be paralleled nowhere else.

Across a road to the west of Hyde Park lie Kensington Gardens, another fine and charmingly diversified area of 360 acres, whilst not far away on the south side of Piccadilly, we find the Green Park (70 acres) and St. James' Park (80 acres), with its pretty lake alive with waterfowl of many kinds. Thus, in the centre of the West End of London no less than 900 acres of beautiful park land are open always for

the enjoyment of the public, and afford breathing spaces of the highest hygienic value to the crowded millions of the Metropolis. On the northern side of central London the royal domain of Regent's Park, with its 470 acres, is yet another glorious public possession. In the time of Queen Elizabeth it was a hunting ground. It owes its preservation as an open space to the intention of George III. to erect within it a Royal Residence.

Other royal parks within "Police London" also maintained by the State, are Richmond Park, rich in natural sylvan beauty, the grounds of Hampton Court Palace, and the adjacent Bushey Park with its fine avenues of Spanish chestnuts.

TRAMWAYS, FIRE BRIGADE, ETC.

The County Council is also the Tramway Authority for the Metropolis, operating some 150 miles of track. The large, comfortable, and well-lighted cars, which carry between 500 and 600 million passengers annually, are electrically propelled by current generated at a large central station at Greenwich, the largest municipal generating station of its kind in the world. Being a municipal undertaking, the interests of the public are studied in the frequency of the service and the cheapness of the fares.

The London Fire Brigade is also under the management of the County Council, and its efficiency well illustrates the advantage of having such a service under central control.

The rates are payments made by all for the good of all. They represent what can be done by co-operative effort. If each householder had to see to the paving and cleansing and lighting of the portion of the road in front of his house, to arrange for watchers to protect him at night from burglars, to fetch water from the nearest pump or well for all the household requirements, to teach his children, to provide his own conveyance in place of the municipal tramways, to test the milk and butter and other foodstuffs upon which he subsists, for possible adulteration, etc., etc., he would soon complain of the tremendous expense to which he was put for the lack of those municipal services which, with numerous others not here mentioned, he gets in return for paying his rates.

Whilst it is right and proper to watch over the expenditure of the ratepayers' money, and to see that full efficiency is maintained without wastefulness, there is nothing to be said for the unenlightened views of some people who speak of the rates, as though they were unnecessary and excessive impositions for which they got nothing in return, and whose one parrot-like cry is always "down with the rates."

EDUCATION

We have reserved to the last place the consideration of what is undoubtedly the greatest and most momentous of all the responsibilities laid upon the County Council, viz. the provision and oversight of education in the Metropolis.

This work has been cast upon the Council since its formation in 1888. Indeed the oversight of education formed no part of their duties when County Councils were first created. Now, however, the functions of the County Councils, and particularly of the London County Council, in respect to education, have been greatly enlarged and are continually growing. A few of the Acts of recent years which have placed new responsibilities upon the Council may be named to show their scope and the rapidity of their growth.

By the Education Acts of 1902 and 1903 the former School Board was swept away and the London County Council was made the Authority in the Metropolis for all branches of education. In 1906 the Education (Provision of Meals) Act empowered Local Education Authorities to organise the supply of meals to necessitous children, provided that the amount spent does not exceed the produce of a $\frac{1}{2}d.$ rate. The Act was optional, but two years after it was passed the Council adopted it in its entirety, and now feeds thousands of children weekly. In 1907 the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act made it a further duty of the Council to provide for the medical inspection of children on their admission to a public elementary school. (It would be well if this were extended also to children entering secondary schools.) In 1908 the famous Children Act empowered the Council to prosecute the parent or guardian of any neglected child, and to take other steps for the welfare of outcast or destitute children. In 1909 the Local Education

Authorities (Medical Treatment) Act laid it upon the Council to require a fee from the parents of children who were being medically treated by the Council at the school clinics. This simple provision has caused much extra work. In 1910 the Education (Choice of Employment) Act enabled the County Councils (and the big Borough Councils) to give boys and girls information, advice and assistance with respect to their future employment, the idea being to guide the young people into occupations offering some hopes of advancement. "Advisory Committees" composed of voluntary workers have been called into existence under this Act, in every part of London, to undertake this splendid service to the youth of London.

The foregoing—in one branch alone of the Council's work—shows how heavy are the burdens laid in ever-increasing number upon this great municipal authority. Great and exacting, however, as the duties are, they are being nobly discharged by the Council's Education Committee. This Committee consists of fifty persons, thirty-eight of whom are members of the Council, the remaining twelve (five of whom are to be women) being persons of experience in education, co-opted (*i.e.* chosen) from outside the ranks of the Council. Theirs is a herculean task. In nearly 600 Council Schools, and nearly 400 non-provided schools, some three quarters of a million children are receiving elementary education under the oversight of the Council, which employs nearly 20,000 teachers for this work. The standard of attainment of the scholars

compares more than favourably with that of the rest of the country.

Secondary Schools, Technical Institutes, Training Colleges, and Special Schools for blind, deaf and defective children are also provided by, or supported by, the Council, whilst Evening Classes and "Institutes" are opened in all parts of London for those who wish to continue their education after working hours. Substantial grants of money are also made by the Council to the University of London and to the various "Polytechnics."

The London County Council expends over £6,000,000 annually upon education alone, about £5,000,000 on Elementary and £1,000,000 on Higher Education. These vast disbursements enable one to appreciate the magnitude of the educational work that the Council is performing for the citizens of the Metropolis.

CARE COMMITTEES, ETC.

The schools have been made the centre of much social activity, and the Council has enlisted the services of large numbers of voluntary workers in the cause of the children. Play centres, happy evenings, vacation schools and organised vacation playgrounds are provided by voluntary agencies, and assistance is given by the Council to these agencies under certain conditions. In addition, the Council itself conducts play centres during the summer holidays.

Children's Care Committees, composed mainly of ladies who unselfishly take upon themselves these

labours of love, supervise the welfare of underfed, scantily clothed, or otherwise necessitous children. The Care Committees (one of which has been formed in connection with each School), if satisfied as to the genuine poverty of the parents, endeavour to fit the children out with boots and clothing, either from articles supplied by charitable persons to the schools, or from funds raised locally. So far as funds permit, the Ragged School Union supplies boots at half prices for necessitous children.

Another Association of voluntary workers, known as the Children's Country Holiday Fund Committee, sends into country homes annually, about 40,000 of the children attending the elementary schools of London. The holiday extends over a fortnight, towards the cost of which the parents are expected, if possible, to contribute. The whole community is indebted to the men and women on the Council, and on these voluntary associations, who, without pay or reward, give so unsparingly of their time, thought, and strength to the service of their fellow citizens.

THANKS TO THE COUNCIL

The improvements made in every direction in London since the County Council began its work in 1889, have rendered the British Capital cleaner, healthier, brighter, and more beautiful than any one who remembers it under the old form of government could ever have thought to be possible in so short a period of time.

As a consequence, it is thronged—especially in the

summer—with visitors from America and the Continent, as well as from the Dominions beyond the Seas. To the efforts of the London County Council in seeking consistently to render London worthy of its place at the heart of the Empire, much of this pleasing result must be ascribed.

No other municipal authority in the Empire can compare with the London County Council in the extent of its revenues or in the magnitude of its responsibilities. The population over which it exercises its powers exceeds that of Australia, and its financial dealings are upon the scale of a sovereign state rather than of a local council. It is a high tribute to the character of this Assembly, that not once since it was constituted and charged with the expenditure of millions annually, has any serious imputation of self-interested action or of corrupt motive on the part of its members ever been sustained. The value of such an example of purity in municipal government cannot be over-estimated. Not merely does it do credit to the Metropolis ; it establishes a standard of civic conduct for the whole country and for the Empire.

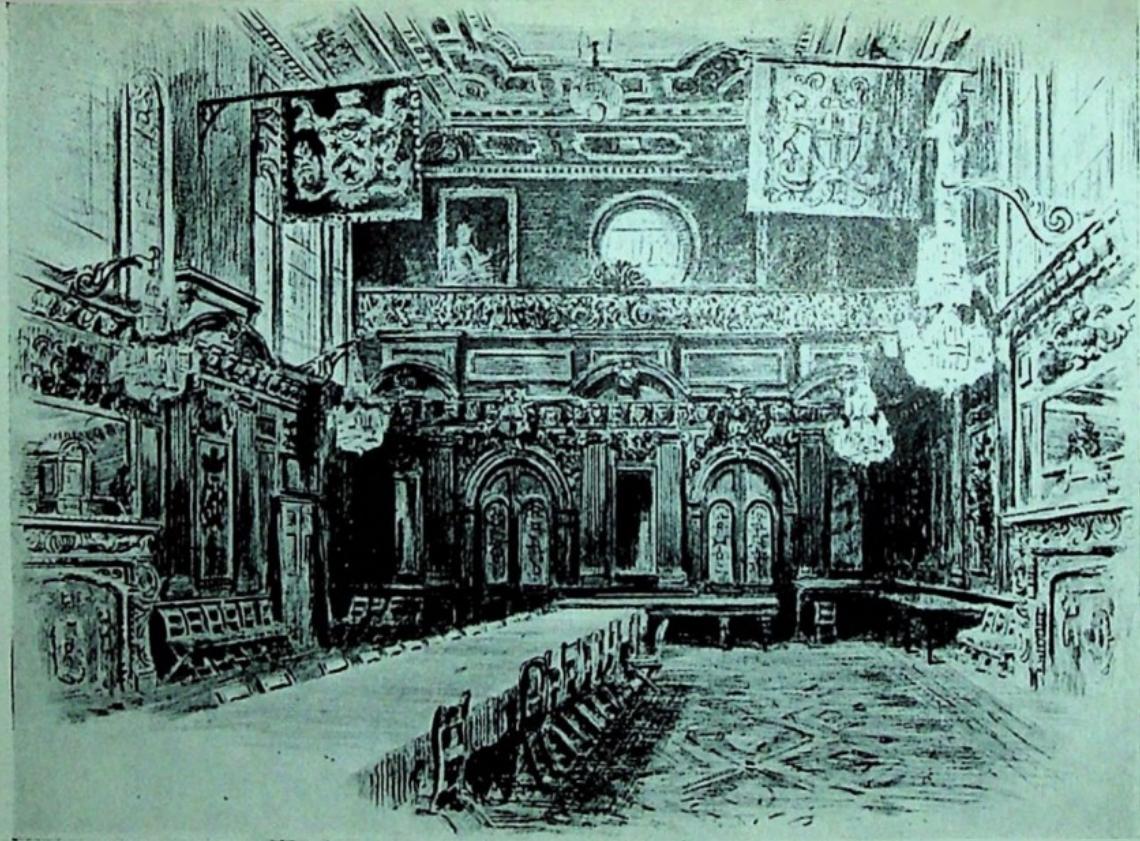
CHAPTER V

OTHER COUNCILS AND BOARDS

The Metropolitan Borough Councils

The County of London is so densely populated, and its municipal wants are so many and various, that in 1899 Parliament determined to divide it into twenty-eight Boroughs each with its Mayor, Aldermen and Councillors. It will thus be observed that the "Administrative County" contains altogether thirty Municipal authorities, viz. the City Corporation, the County Council, and twenty-eight Borough Councils. This is a large number of local authorities, although it is fewer than before. No less than 120 Vestries, Boards, etc., were swept away by the Act of 1899.

The names of the Boroughs are familiar to every Londoner. They are Battersea, Clapham, Bethnal Green, Camberwell, Chelsea, Deptford, Finsbury, Fulham, Greenwich, Hackney, Hammersmith, Hampstead, Islington, Kensington, Lambeth, Lewisham, Marylebone, Newington, Paddington, St. George (Hanover Square), St. Pancras, Shoreditch, Southwark, Strand, Tower Hamlets, Wandsworth, Westminster, and Woolwich. Seventeen of the Boroughs are in Middlesex, seven in Surrey and four in Kent. Each of them sends one or more members to Parliament.



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THE BANQUETING ROOM, MERCERS' HALL.

London, including the City, has sixty representatives in Parliament.

The Metropolitan Borough Councils undertake in their several areas, certain municipal duties. But matters which affect London as a whole fall within the scope of the County Council. The Borough Councils of the Metropolis have thus *not* the same full powers as the Town Councils of the provincial cities. For instance, we have seen that education is removed from their control, and that the main drainage, main roads, street improvements, enforcement of the Building Acts, etc., etc. (all of which would form part of the work of the Borough Councils of, say, Birmingham or Bradford) are entrusted, in the case of London, to a central authority—the County Council. Nor, again, can the Borough Councils raise a loan without the sanction of the County Council. There is good reason for these apparent disabilities. London is so vast and its problems are so different from those of a small compact borough, that some centralization of authority and of the municipal services that affect the whole population is highly necessary.

We find, therefore, that the Borough Councils of London are chiefly occupied with such duties as seeing to the paving, lighting and cleansing of the streets within their area, to the removal of refuse, and to the proper drainage of the houses; the inspection of dairies, enforcement of the laws against the adulteration of food, etc., etc.; whereas the maintenance of the *main* roads, and making and upkeep of the main

sewers, the provision of schools, of tramways, parks, etc., etc., are, as already stated, duties of the London County Council.

THE BOROUGHS AND THE RATES

One function of the Boroughs is, however, of primary importance. They, together with the City Corporation, are the sole authorities in the Metropolis for levying rates and collecting the money. It is not a very pleasant duty, inasmuch as they have to raise much money in the spending of which they have no voice. Thus, as we have already seen, the Borough Councils find the money for the County Council. They also have to provide the funds for a number of other Authorities, *e.g.* the Boards of Guardians, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, the Central (Unemployed) Board, etc. (of whom we shall speak shortly), over whose expenditure the Borough Councils (and therefore the ratepayers) have no direct control. That is a subject which we shall have to consider later in the book.

The Borough Councils act as Overseers, and levy half-yearly a rate, called the General Rate, to cover their own expenses as well as the expenditure of the above-named authorities. These General Rates vary greatly in different areas. In the poorer and crowded boroughs they are usually very high, owing to the amount required for the relief of the poor, whereas in the West End of London, where few poor people reside, the general rate is comparatively low. This is

a source of much complaint. Rates and taxes *ought* to involve equal sacrifices on the part of those called upon to pay them. A reform which has been attempted in recent years, is the *equalisation* of the burdens upon the ratepayers.

EQUALISATION

In 1894, the London (Equalisation of Rates) Act was passed by Parliament, requiring the London County Council to form an Equalisation Fund in London, on the basis of levying in each half-year a rate of threepence in the pound throughout the Administrative County (*i.e.* the City and the Metropolitan Boroughs), and apportioning the proceeds to the districts in proportion to their population. For reasons which are too complicated to be discussed in a small book, the Act has only been a partial success. The matter of equalisation of the rates is, however, not being lost sight of, and the Council in October, 1911, passed a series of resolutions, among which the two following may be quoted :—

“ That in the opinion of the Council

- (1) A scheme of complete equalisation with regard to the Poor Rate is not only eminently desirable, but also ultimately practicable by means of a Central Poor Law Authority for London.
- (2) With regard to the Borough Rate, a scheme of further equalisation, though equally desirable, requires more detailed investigation ; etc., etc.”

It will be seen from the above that a further equalisation of the rates in the Metropolis is likely to be accomplished in the future. Meanwhile, we find discrepancies which ought not to exist. The poorer boroughs suffer unduly because of their poverty. Owing to the small amount brought in by a penny rate in some of the poorer districts, many amenities have to be forgone, which the richer boroughs can afford. Thus one borough will have free libraries and public baths, whereas another will have one or the other, but not both. In towns like Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow, etc., the same standard prevails over the whole city, since the rich districts and the poor are all rated alike, and the municipal services are all paid for out of the same fund. The problem of equalisation of the rates does not, therefore, arise in these towns.

Equalisation of the rates in London would probably have the effect of levelling up the amenities of the poorer boroughs to the standard of the richer. The whole question is, however, surrounded with difficulties, and the above statements must be regarded simply as a bare outline of the problem and as one of the suggested solutions. Whilst the West End of London should undoubtedly help the poorer East End, it would only make confusion worse to allow the eastern municipalities to spend money lavishly and even recklessly upon doubtful schemes of poor relief, relying upon the western boroughs (not all of which are rich) to make good out of some common fund, any deficiency in the local revenues. Only by erecting a

Central Poor Law Authority and placing the financial control in its hands, could adequate supervision over poor law expenditure be secured. Of such an Authority we shall have something to say in a later chapter.

ELECTRICITY

The Borough Councils have the power of supplying electricity within their respective areas, and fifteen of them have availed themselves of this right, while the others have left the supply to private companies. This multiplication of power-generating stations, each with its separate buildings, staffs and plant, renders electricity a very costly commodity in London, compared with some cities. It would be better far for the millions of consumers in London were there one or two immense generating stations (owned perhaps by the County Council) conveniently located on the river (where coal could be delivered easily and cheaply), which could supply electricity in bulk to the various Boroughs, allowing the latter to distribute it direct to the consumers. Some such plan for providing the Metropolis with cheap electricity is one of the problems with which London's citizens must soon deal. Electricity is the motive power of the future, and therefore each and all of us are interested in schemes for increasing its supply or cheapening its cost. The cheaper our factories and workshops can obtain their power, the cheaper will be the costs of production, and the more will our manufacturers be able to hold their own amid the stress of international competition.

THE BOARDS OF GUARDIANS

We have seen that within the Administrative County no less than thirty municipal councils exercise authority. These are by no means all the public bodies in the Metropolis entrusted with municipal work and empowered to spend the ratepayers' money. There are, for instance, the Boards of Guardians, elected regularly by the ratepayers (or such of them as take the trouble to vote) to administer the Poor Law. In the Administrative County of London there are thirty-one Unions, each with its Board of Guardians.

When the Borough Councils were created in 1899, the Boards of Guardians then existing were not touched, with the resulting anomaly that the Poor Law Areas are not co-extensive with the Municipal Areas. In some cases they correspond, in others they do not. Thus the Borough of Stepney contains three Poor Law Unions, whilst the Wandsworth Union contains two Boroughs—Battersea and Wandsworth. As the boundaries of the Unions do not always coincide with those of the Boroughs, a man may thus find himself in the absurd position of being rated in one district for municipal, and in another district for poor law purposes.

Much of the work that should really form part of the duties of the Guardians is now being done by other Authorities—so much so, that it is often asked whether Boards of Guardians are any longer necessary! The feeding of necessitous children, for instance, as well as the medical inspection and treatment of all

elementary school children, has now been allocated by Parliament to the Education Authority, which, as will be remembered, is the County Council in the case of London. Then, too, the provision of Old Age Pensions by the State has relieved the Guardians of the care of very many old folk who would have otherwise to be provided for in the workhouse. There are also other causes at work which cannot be detailed in this short account of the government of London, all tending to diminish the field of operations of the Boards of Guardians.

Certain poor law work which could not be properly done by each Union separately, led to the establishment, in 1867, of still another municipal body, viz.:—

THE METROPOLITAN ASYLUMS BOARD

which is charged with the control of a number of asylums for imbeciles, fever and small-pox hospitals, casual wards, convalescent homes for sick poor-law children, a training ship—the *Exmouth*—for poor-law boys, land and river ambulance services, and also recently the Sanatoria for Consumptives under the National Insurance Act.

The Board consists of seventy-three managers, fifty-five of whom are elected by the several Boards of Guardians, and eighteen appointed by the Local Government Board. Originally created to deal solely with Poor Law cases, the Metropolitan Asylums Board now finds itself engaged in Public Health work quite outside the Poor Law. Any cases of infectious

disease, for example, whether poor-law cases (*i.e.* paupers) or not, can be sent to the Board's fever hospitals, and the new Sanatoria will be similarly open to all consumptives who come under the National Insurance Act. One can see, therefore, that the administration of the poor law has become entangled and intertwined with the administration of public health.

The financial relationships of the various authorities are equally intricate and perplexing. The London County Council, for instance, though it does not manage the workhouses, contributes 4d. per day to the Board of Guardians of every Union within the Metropolis, for each pauper in their respective workhouses.

In addition to the Metropolitan Asylums Board, we find also other Boards appointed by certain Boards of Guardians, viz. two Sick Asylum Boards, and four School District Boards, the latter managing the schools to which poor-law children are sent. Some reorganisation is therefore manifestly necessary. Overlapping of similar functions and the multiplication of municipal buildings, of accounts and clerical work, means waste of time, energy and money.

It is well that the reader should here observe that the Metropolitan Asylums Board—though it spends the ratepayers' money—is not directly elected by the ratepayers, and that the ratepayers have very little, if any, control over its expenditure. We shall refer later to this position of helplessness on the part of the London ratepayer, who constantly finds himself

called upon to disburse large sums, in the spending of which he has no voice.

METROPOLITAN WATER BOARD

The first care of every municipal authority ought to be provision of a copious supply of pure water. To furnish the vast population of London with a sufficiency of good water is a gigantic task, and any attempt to relate the history of the various undertakings that have been established for the purpose of supplying drinking water to the Metropolis would require a volume to itself. This much, however, ought to be firmly apprehended, viz. that whereas in the provinces, the great towns have almost without exception provided themselves with a municipal water supply, and used the profits made from the service in alleviation of the rates, the water supply of the Metropolis was, up till quite recently, in the hands of a number of private companies, which made a very good income out of the business. In 1902, however, an Act of Parliament was passed setting up an authority called the "Metropolitan Water Board," which was empowered to buy out the great water companies. The purchase was effected at a cost of very many millions sterling.

The Metropolitan Water Board consists of sixty-six members, appointed by the various Councils, etc. within "Water London," an area of 559 square miles, comprising parts of Essex, Herts., Kent, Middlesex, and Surrey, and containing a population of over seven million people.

The sources of supply are (1) the Thames and Lee;

(2) wells sunk into the chalk ; (3) natural springs. On March 15th, 1913, an immense reservoir at Chingford, constructed to hold over three thousand million gallons of the Lee River water, was opened by King George V. Other huge reservoirs are projected on the other side of London, which jointly will enable the Board to meet the requirements of the population under their care for many years to come, even in seasons of extreme drought. The average consumption per person is estimated to be about $35\frac{1}{2}$ gallons per day.

The charges of the old companies varied considerably, but the Board—for domestic purposes—charges a flat rate of 5 per cent. on the rateable value of the premises supplied. In other cases it is paid for by meter measurement. If the revenue thus obtained is insufficient to defray expenses, the Boroughs and other Councils have to make good the loss out of the rates.

One thus sees that, whilst the ratepayers of London have no direct control over the Water Board, they are, nevertheless, liable to pay for any deficiency in its revenues—a position of helplessness in which the London ratepayer too often finds himself. If a ratepayer cannot influence the municipal services through his vote, he is very unlikely to take a keen interest in their management. This helplessness partly accounts for the apparent apathy of Londoners towards their civic duties. Having practically no control over many of their municipal affairs, they can do little else but grumble and *pay*.

CENTRAL (UNEMPLOYED) BODY

Another Authority in London which has spending powers and a right to call upon the Borough Councils for money, must also be briefly mentioned, as it affords yet another instance of the London ratepayers' liability to taxation without direct representation. This is the Central (Unemployed) Body.

In order to lessen the amount of poverty in London, and with a view to assisting the deserving poor who, through no fault of their own, find themselves thrown out of employment, Parliament in 1905 passed the Unemployed Workmen Act, which set up in London twenty-nine "Distress Committees," composed of members appointed partly by the City Corporation, partly by the Borough Councils, and partly by the Guardians. The Act also set up a Central (Unemployed) Body, consisting of four members nominated by the London County Council, five by the Local Government Board, sixty-two representatives from the various Distress Committees and eight others chosen from outside by reason of their wide knowledge of the conditions of working-class life.

The primary object of the Central (Unemployed) Body is to take such measures as they may think fit to relieve unemployment and distress. With this end in view, they are empowered to start "relief works" (such as road making and repairing), to establish farm colonies (*e.g.* the Hollesley Bay Colony in Suffolk), and to assist suitable applicants to emigrate. The Central (Unemployed) Body defrays the cost of these

activities out of any voluntary contributions that can be raised. If these be insufficient, it can call for contributions from the City Corporation and the Borough Councils, in proportion to the rateable value of their respective areas, to an amount not exceeding the produce of $\frac{1}{2}$ d. rate. The money may be used for works of public utility, in order to provide employment in periods of exceptional distress. In severe winters Parliament has granted to the Central (Unemployed) Body considerable sums for the purposes above described.

THE METROPOLITAN POLICE

"Police London" is the greatest of all the many "Londons," inasmuch as it embraces all places within a radius of fifteen miles of Charing Cross (except the old "City," which has its own Police Force, see page 25). To watch over this large area of 699 square miles is the work of the Metropolitan Police, who number about 21,000 officers and men. Their headquarters are at New Scotland Yard, near the Houses of Parliament.

This important civil force was established in 1829 by an Act of Parliament, to supplant the ineffective old watchmen who were supposed to protect the lives and property of London's citizens before that date. The supreme government of the Force is vested in a Commissioner, appointed by and under the control of the Home Secretary. Differing in their constitution from the Borough or County Forces (which are controlled solely by the Local Authorities), the Metropolitan

Police are at the disposal of the Home Secretary, who can, in times of need, dispatch a contingent to any part of the country where the local police are insufficient for the work in hand.

The Force is distributed into Divisions A to Y, each patrolling a particular portion of the police area. Other divisions are in charge of the dockyards at Woolwich, Portsmouth, Devonport, Chatham and Pembroke. The "Thames Police," who form a separate division of the Metropolitan Police, are a body of men selected principally from sailors. Their sole work is to patrol the river, which they do in boats and motor launches. Within the Metropolitan Police Area are fourteen police courts, each presided over by a stipendiary magistrate.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONTROL OF THE RIVER

Port of London Authority

The river is the source and holds the secret of London's greatness. London has grown to be the world-centre that it is, chiefly because the Thames affords unrivalled advantages for the carrying on in safety of a great overseas trade. Other ports had their chance—so to speak—of becoming the headquarters of British commerce. Southampton is nearer to the Continent and more conveniently situated for trade with France and Spain than is London. Bristol from earliest times had extensive dealings with the Mediterranean, and in later days with America. But in the course of the centuries, London has out-distanced all other ports in the magnitude of her sea-borne commerce, and to-day the Thames stands unrivalled in the aggregate tonnage borne upon her broad bosom. Liverpool comes a close second, but one must take into consideration the number of mammoth "liners" carrying many passengers and very little cargo that go to swell the total tonnage of Liverpool. London has none of these vast floating hotels in her Port. The vessels that use her docks are essentially cargo carriers.

There is no occasion for foolish local jealousies.



LONDON ABOUT 1800 A.D.

A comparison of this old map with one of the present day will shew how enormous has been the growth of London since the early years of the 19th Century.

Whether Londoners or not, it is a source of satisfaction to all of us as Britons, to feel that our country's Capital is not merely the chief centre of the political and social life of the nation, but that its Port and Markets are the greatest and busiest in the world. These facts make London a true national Capital, unlike Washington, which is a Capital only because it is the Seat of the American Government. The Metropolis is indeed the only Capital City in the world which is at the same time a first-class seaport.

No other port in the world can compare with London in its splendid natural advantages. Its geographical position, if examined upon a large scale map, or better still upon a terrestrial globe, will be found to be singularly equidistant from the great trading centres of the new and old worlds. Open all the year round, with none of those ice difficulties which close most other ports in the same latitude during the winter, with a tidal flow strong enough to transport lighters easily from Tilbury to Nine Elms, a distance of about thirty miles, with shores on both sides of a character eminently suited for dock and railway construction and for the erection of factories, the Port of London stands pre-eminent; and behind it lives a mighty population possessed of wealth, enterprise and mercantile ability.

London is a port of many aspects. As a collecting and distributing centre, with countless towns and millions of people within her area of supply, London occupies a position quite unique. The value of her imports—which are extraordinarily diverse—surpasses

that of any other port in the world. As a clearing house for the world's ocean traders, her trans-shipment business is also colossal.

The good management of the Port of London is, therefore, a matter in which the whole nation has an interest, and it is fitting that some brief notice of the Authority which is charged with the welfare of the Port should be included in this short account of the government of London.

Until recently, the management of the Port of London was quite as antiquated in its character as the municipal management of the Metropolis before 1855. By that, we mean that the control of the river and of the docks was diffused among a number of conflicting and overlapping authorities, between whom there was very little harmony or co-operation. The Thames Conservancy, the great Dock Companies, the City Corporation, the Waterman's Company (one of the old Guilds), Trinity House, and other bodies, all had a voice in the management of the Port and of the river generally. It was a case of "too many cooks spoiling the broth."

A river such as the Thames is in a sense a unit, and must be treated as one and indivisible. Improvements must be made upon some general principle. Dredging schemes, railway connections, and dock extensions must be planned in unison. Comprehensive schemes involving the expenditure of millions of money to provide accommodation for the great length and depth of modern steamships must not be undertaken as

isolated adventures, but must be framed with regard to the Port as a whole.

Whilst, however, Rotterdam, Hamburg, Bremen, Antwerp, and other ports, were extending their facilities for shipping, and accommodating their docks to the ever-increasing size of ocean-going vessels, the numerous controlling authorities of the Port of London could agree upon nothing, and stood practically still. It was high time, therefore, for Parliament to intervene in order to prevent the Capital Port of the Empire from losing its place—for to stand still in these days means to fall behind.

Action was at length taken in 1908, and the conflicting interests and authorities were brought into harmony by being absorbed into a new Authority constituted by Parliament, and known as the Port of London Authority. The Authority consists of twenty-nine members, appointed partly by the Board of Trade, the London County Council, the City Corporation, the Admiralty, Trinity House, and other bodies, *e.g.* the wharfingers, payers of dues, owners of river craft, and representatives of the Labour Associations of the Port.

The Act of Parliament under which this important body was created, became operative on March 31st, 1909. It provided for the transfer, at a valuation of about £23,000,000, of the docks, quays, and warehouses belonging to the big dock companies, to the new Authority; the private quays and warehouses of the wharfingers remaining, as before, private undertakings. The Act also transferred to the Port of

London Authority, the jurisdiction formerly vested in the Thames Conservancy over the river below Teddington Lock and the Conservators' duties respecting the maintenance and improvement of the channel, control of the harbours and provision of moorings; also certain of the powers of the Waterman's Company in respect to the registration and licensing of lighters, lightermen and watermen.

The functions of Trinity House, which is responsible for the lighting, buoying and pilotage of the river, as well as for the lighthouses, etc., round our coasts, were not disturbed, as these important duties are admirably performed by that ancient and august institution. Similarly the powers of the Corporation as the Port Sanitary Authority were untouched, as also the guardianship of the Port by the Metropolitan Police. Every other function was, however, placed in the hands of the Port of London Authority, which now extends its sway from Teddington to the mouth of the river, a distance of sixty-nine miles, constituting the greatest and richest highway of commerce ever known to history.

Though formed as recently as 1909, the new Authority has already accomplished much good work. Great schemes have been set on foot and are now in course of achievement. The deepening of the river to enable large vessels to enter at all states of the tide has been one of their first concerns. The object of the Port Authority is to ensure a minimum depth of thirty feet at low water between Gravesend and the sea.

These dredging operations involve the removal of some 6,000,000 cubic yards of material from the bed of the river and its conveyance out to sea in hoppers, where it is dumped in deep water. Other schemes have in view the construction of immense new deep-water docks, warehouses, granaries, cold stores and other facilities for accommodating the trade of the Port.

It is expected that within the first twenty years of its existence, the Port of London Authority will expend nearly fifteen millions sterling upon the improvement of the Port. This large sum will not, however, come out of the taxpayers' pockets. The Authority pays its own way by levying and collecting dues on goods and on shipping under the powers conferred by the Act of Parliament above referred to.

THE THAMES CONSERVANCY

The Conservators of the River Thames were constituted a "body corporate" by Act of Parliament in 1857, and their powers have been altered by various statutes from time to time. The Thames Conservancy is now shorn of much of its former importance. Up to 1909 it was chief ruler over the river, keeping the channels open for navigation, removing wrecks, controlling the piers, embankments, etc., all of which duties are now transferred by the Port of London Act of 1908 to the Port of London Authority. At the same time the number of Conservators was reduced from thirty-eight to twenty-eight. The responsibilities of the Conservancy are now confined to performing

certain functions for the upper reaches of the river between Teddington and Cricklade. Over this portion, the Conservators control the navigation, weirs, registration of boats, prevention of pollution, protection of fisheries, etc., etc.

The Thames Conservancy is—like the Port of London Authority—a body of very mixed composition, the members being appointed partly by the City Corporation, London County Council, the Metropolitan Water Board, the Board of Trade, the Port of London Authority, and partly also by the riverside County, Borough and Urban District Councils.

LEE CONSERVANCY BOARD

The river Lee (or Lea) which, with its tributaries, drains an area of about 600 square miles, falls into the Thames at Blackwall. For a considerable portion of its length, it forms the natural boundary between the counties of Middlesex and Essex, and has a navigable waterway of about fifty miles.

The Authority responsible for the control of the Lee and its tributaries, is the Lee Conservancy, a Board similar in constitution and powers to the Thames Conservancy, already described. The Board, which was created in 1868, consists of fifteen members, of whom fourteen are elected by the Local Authorities of the districts through which the river flows, and one by the barge owners on the river. It raises its revenue for the management of the river from dues, tolls, pier dues, fines, licences, etc.

The functions of the Lee Conservancy, which also include the management of the Lee and Stort Navigations, are largely concerned with the prevention of pollution of the river—a most necessary precaution, inasmuch as Lee water forms a considerable proportion of the drinking supply for the eastern side of London. The huge reservoir at Chingford, for impounding the waters of the Lee, has already been mentioned (p. 65).

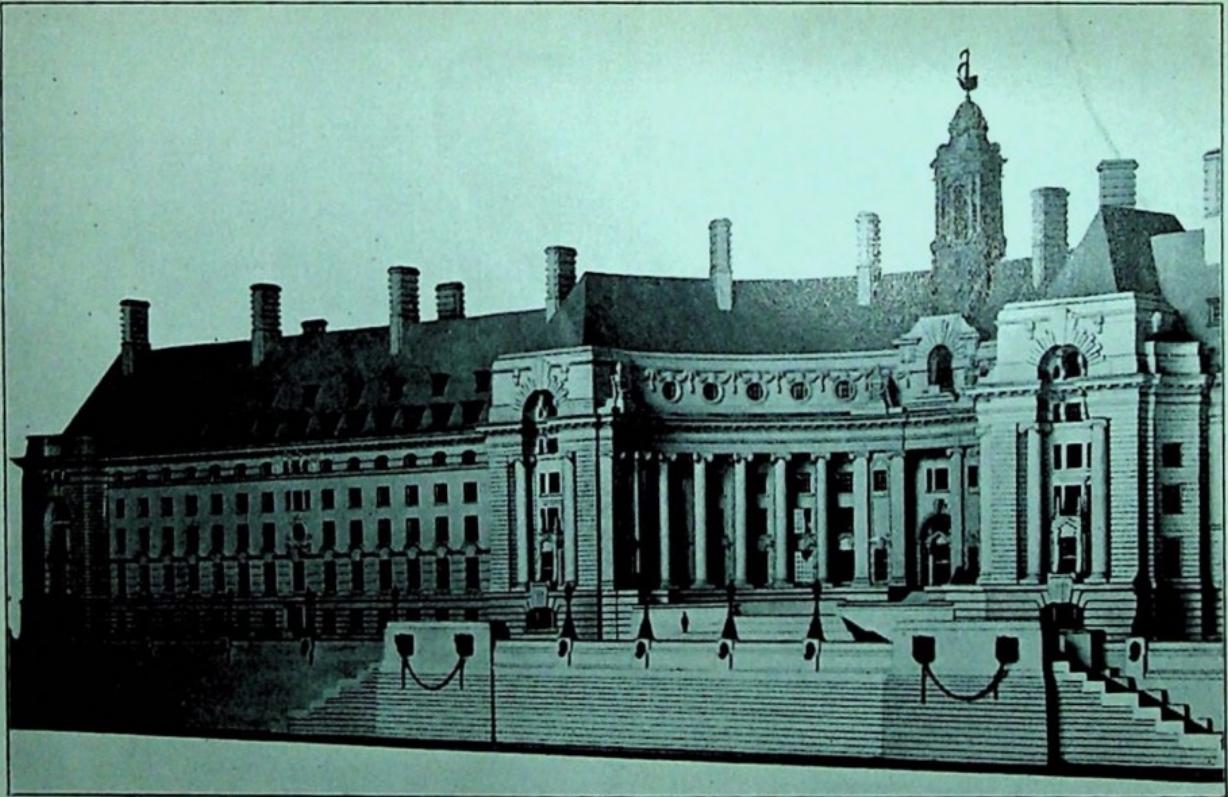
CHAPTER VII PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

A Multitude of Councils

We have now briefly surveyed the field of municipal work in the Metropolis and the Authorities entrusted with and engaged upon that work. It may be well to tabulate them. They are

- The City Corporation,
- The London County Council,
- 28 Metropolitan Borough Councils,
- 31 Boards of Guardians,
- The Metropolitan Asylums Board,
- Metropolitan Water Board,
- The Central (Unemployed) Body,
- Thames Conservancy Board,
- Lee Conservancy Board,
- The Port of London Authority.

Nor is this list altogether complete, as it omits the Metropolitan Police (which, as will be remembered, are controlled by the Home Secretary), Sick Asylums Committees, and the Boards of School District Managers. It is sufficiently long, however, to show that within the Administrative County there is no lack of Authorities charged with municipal duties. It may be thought that there are too many, and probably this



(Photograph of the Architect's Model, by kind permission of the London County Council.)

CENTRE AND LEFT WING OF THE RIVER FRONT OF THE NEW COUNTY HALL (see p. 40)

is a conclusion that may be safely drawn. We will deal with that point shortly.

In Outer London, *i.e. outside* the Administrative County but *within* the Metropolitan Police Area, we find another and a very large group of Local Authorities—all armed with considerable powers of dipping into the ratepayers' pockets, *viz.* :—

- 5 County Councils,
- 9 Borough Councils,
- 62 Urban District Councils,
- 14 Rural District Councils,
- 53 Parish Councils,
- 19 Boards of Guardians.

Taking these with the former, you will certainly conclude that there is superfluity of governing bodies in the London Police Area, and that it is time that some process of unification began to take place.

There can be little doubt that London suffers from this excessive number of Councils and Boards, and that there is urgent need for greater simplicity in its local government. *The management of municipal affairs in London should be such as every citizen can easily comprehend.* At present the average resident in London is quite unable to perceive any guiding principle in the administration of the municipal services. He is dismayed by the multiplicity of authorities, and bewildered by the intricacy of their relationship one to the other, and to the Central Authority—Parliament—to which they owe their creation. Not understanding the constitution of these authorities,

he lacks interest in their doings. Being unable to influence the action of many of them by his vote, he falls into an attitude of apathetic resignation.

Local patriotism—so vigorous a feature in the life of the provincial towns and cities—languishes in London, nor is a strong civic spirit likely to revive until a very considerable reduction in the number of municipal bodies is effected and their particular functions rendered intelligible. Further, they must be elected directly by the ratepayers who provide them with funds, so that their action can be readily supervised and controlled.

THE NEW "LONDON"

First and foremost, however, there must be some enlargement of the present "London." Until this new "London" is delimited, it is difficult to begin consolidating and simplifying the work of the multitude of authorities engaged at present in municipal duties.

In this direction, then, must be taken the first step towards unification. The boundaries of the County of London must be enlarged and fixed by Act of Parliament. They can be extended afterwards if necessary, but meanwhile they should be taken sufficiently wide to embrace the districts in which live the masses who earn their daily bread by working in the London area.

If you examine the map at the beginning of this book, you will see the extent of the Metropolitan

Police District ("Greater London"), *i.e.* the district watched over by "Scotland Yard." Within this area of nearly 700 square miles dwell some $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people, who claim to be regarded as Londoners, and who, for very many municipal purposes, ought to constitute a civic unit.

In spite of artificial divisions, "Outer London" (*i.e.* the area outside the County of London but within "Police London") forms an integral part of the Capital. The dwellers there have a community of interests with the rest of London. All of these districts are linked together by innumerable ties. Their industries depend upon London. A vast number of the inhabitants come into London daily to earn their living. The railways, tramways and bus routes by which they are conveyed are all planned to converge upon London. Their main drainage system and water-supply are largely the same as those of the Metropolis. In short, these outlying districts are as much a part of London as the fingers are part of the body. Surely then, their chief municipal services ought to be under one central control.

For instance, the poor of the whole of London (taken in its widest sense) ought to be assisted and cared for on some principle applicable to the whole of London, by an Authority representing and responsible to the ratepayers of the whole of London. How can any common line of action or common standard of public assistance be secured when fifty Boards of Guardians of the Poor act independently in fifty

separate Unions as at present ? Then too, educational advantages should be standardised over the whole area. The children in Greater London should enjoy educational facilities in no way inferior to those offered by the London County Council to the children of the Administrative County. The first step, however, towards any such general unification of Poor Law Administration and of Education, must be to settle definitely the area inside which these services shall be unified. If the Metropolitan Police Area is deemed too large, then a smaller area must be taken. The main point is that some well-defined limits should be marked out and known as "London," and that for the most important municipal services in that area, one Central Authority should be made responsible.

THE QUESTION OF SIZE

If it is once admitted that the present boundaries of London (the area coloured pink in the frontispiece), must be extended so as to embrace the whole of Greater London, the question next arises as to whether any single council could possibly undertake the principal municipal services of so vast an area and be responsible for needs of so many millions of people in respect to education, public health, tramways and other transport facilities, water, electricity in bulk (and possibly gas) supply, public assistance (*i.e.* care of the poor), town-planning, housing of the artisan classes, etc., etc.

It has been urged that the work would be altogether too unwieldy for any one Council to undertake and

manage successfully. That is an objection which has not much evidence to support it.

"Acreage," says a well-known writer on municipal affairs, "presents no difficulties to the modern administrator. If steam, electricity, and petrol have eliminated distance, the telegraph and telephone have equally eliminated time."

Tubes and taxis render it nowadays as easy to travel from one side of London to the other, as it was in the youth of the present writer to pass from the Bank to Charing Cross. To restrict the boundaries of London within any narrow limits for fear of making it too great, would be to ignore the inherent unity that already exists between the centre and the most distant suburbs, in spite of their artificial divisions. Tramways, highways, water and electricity supply, drainage, education, care of the poor, problems of housing and town-planning, are matters that affect outer London just as much as inner London, and such problems can only be satisfactorily solved on the basis of a frank recognition of a common life and common needs of the millions living outside as well as inside the official boundaries of the Metropolis. That the area over which the municipal services should be centralised, ought to be that in which the interests of the several parts are identical, would seem to be a commonsense conclusion at which to arrive. The mere question of acreage should not stand in the way.

UNECONOMIC CONDITIONS

That Greater London has outgrown its old forms of

government is nobody's fault. It is the result of the enormous development of the industries and commerce of the capital city and the flow of population thereto during the past century. Districts that were once rural areas and whose needs were satisfied by the simple municipal organisations of an earlier day, have now developed into densely populated suburbs in which reside the millions who look to London for their subsistence. It is the rapid creation of such suburban districts, one after the other, all demanding an increase of municipal amenities, that has brought about the pressing need for some simplification and correlation of the local authorities of the Metropolis and its environs.

Not for one moment is it desired to utter any words of unkindly criticism upon the authorities that rule in Outer London. Their zeal and well-intentioned efforts are undoubtedly. But that does not alter the fact that they are unnecessarily numerous, and that great economies and still greater efficiency would accrue from some consolidation of their manifold activities.

The difficulty of dealing with so great a number of independent local authorities when it is a question of doing something for the good of the whole of London, is well brought out from the following passage taken from the fourth annual report of the Road Board, (a Government Department established in 1909 to improve the roads of the United Kingdom). The report states :

"There are 118 separate and independent highway authorities either entirely or partly in the area of the Metropolitan Police District, usually referred to as Greater London. The number of these authorities and their divergent interests render it difficult to secure agreement as to matters of general policy."

The tedious delay that inevitably occurs when endeavouring to bring into line a number of independent bodies such as those mentioned above is uneconomic because of the waste of valuable time and energy. It is also a source of useless expense. But in other ways also, the present system is cumbrous and uneconomic. All these Councils, Boards and Committees have their separate staff of officials, clerks and inspectors, their municipal buildings, their printed reports and what not. No wonder that London costs more per head to govern than any other city in the Kingdom ! It ought to cost less per head.

And it is not merely the number of spending authorities that make it uneconomic. It is also the illogical distribution, the overlapping, and the variation in standard of the work performed by these bodies. Some of the municipal services are rendered by the local authority, some by the central authority. There is too little co-ordination. The London County Council, for example, is responsible for *large* slum clearances, the Borough Councils for *small* ; the London County Council for main sewers, the Borough Councils for street drains ; both the County Council and

Borough Councils are responsible for prevention of smoke-nuisance, with the result that neither is successful in purifying London's atmosphere. If the duty were allotted to one authority only, it would probably be more efficiently performed. To divide responsibility is usually a mistaken policy.

The County Council, again, is responsible for Thames bridges, tunnels and ferries ; the Borough Councils for bridges over the tributary streams ; the County Council for main roads and the Borough Councils for streets* and so forth.

WATCHWORDS OF PROGRESS

The mere magnitude, therefore, of the new "London" that would thus be created, should not deter us from considering what means may be devised for unifying and simplifying, and improving the internal government of the greatest city the world has ever seen. Whatever measures are proposed are certain, however, to excite much controversy and some animosity. It would thus be quite out of place in this little book to "take sides" or to endeavour to influence the reader in one direction or another. Our duty is simply to state as briefly and as impartially as possible the nature of the problems which beset the internal

* When a street becomes a main road has not yet been determined. It is suggested that when regularly used as a 'bus route, the thoroughfare should be held to be a main road, and the cost of its maintenance should no longer fall upon the Borough Council, but be defrayed by the County Council ! There is a grim humour in this suggestion for those who are acquainted with the effect of the motor omnibuses upon the surface of a road !

government of London, to expose the manifest defects of the present system, and then to leave each to explore the subject and devise solutions for himself.

Centralisation, unification, simplification, efficiency, economy, prevention of overlapping, direct responsibility to the ratepayers, are all excellent watchwords, and help to keep us in the right attitude towards the matter in hand. But it is not our way in England to make sudden and drastic changes in our public institutions. Progress will be slow. The chief obstacle in the way of progress is ignorance. The complexities of the subject of London's local government are apt to confuse the inquirer. No headway will or can, however, be made without a thorough understanding of the existing system, for only when one has found "where the shoe pinches" can the correct remedy be discovered.

CHAPTER VIII

PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

(concluded)

Suggestions for Simplification

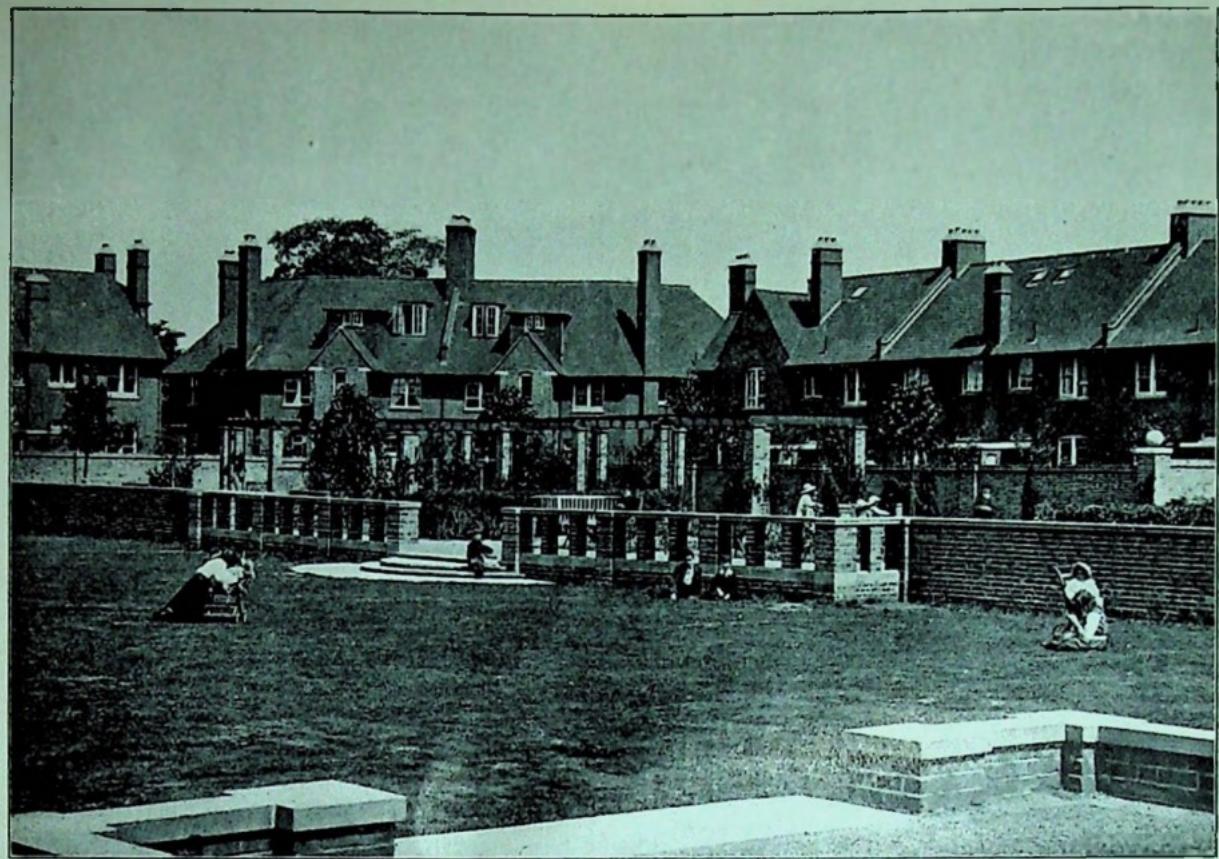
And now, what steps should be taken to remedy the manifest defects in the local government of London?

We are here treading upon controversial ground, and any suggestions made in these pages must be looked upon merely as tentative, and as offering themes for fruitful discussion.

In any project for simplifying and unifying the Government of a new "London," two guiding principles should be kept in view:

- (1) Central control by a great Central Council for all London, of the chief municipal services such as education, public health, public assistance, main drainage, bulk electricity and water supply, housing of the working classes, town planning, etc. ; and
- (2) Local control by Local Councils of purely local affairs.

London could not be conveniently or successfully placed under a single municipal Council like Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow and other great provincial



(Reproduced by kind permission from a photograph in the possession of the London County Council.)

COTTAGES ERECTED BY THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL ON THE WHITE HART LANE ESTATE, TOTTENHAM,
where an area of 177 acres is being laid out on the lines of a Garden Suburb for Members of the Working Classes. (See p. 42.)

cities, for although common life and common needs bind the people living upon some 700 square miles into one community for a number of purposes, we can never disregard the fact that in certain aspects London is not one, but many.

The basis of a constitution for London should, therefore, recognise both its unity and its diversity. London might be fitly regarded as a Province. Hence the necessity for Local Councils as well as for one great Central Council or "Parliament for London."

We must ask ourselves, therefore, whether it would not be possible to create in Outer London another group of Borough Councils (similar to those inside the County of London), and at the same time bring into existence a "Parliament for London," which should be made responsible for all London's work (including the administration of the poor law), which should do the thinking for all London, as Imperial Parliament may be said to think for the whole nation, delegating to the local Borough Councils all those duties and functions which can be usefully de-centralized. Such a division of authority would be a practical recognition of the unity, as well as the diversity of London's interests.

A GREAT COUNCIL FOR LONDON

There are two important Councils already in existence, either of which might be enlarged in scope until it occupied the magnificent position of which we have

spoken, viz. that of a great Central Council or Parliament for a new and unified "London." These are the City Corporation and the London County Council.

The City Corporation, as described in the preceding pages, has, on historical grounds, a right to occupy the premier position among the Councils of London, and if it were to exhibit any desire to extend its authority and to take upon its shoulders the administration of the municipal services of the whole of London, it would be difficult to resist such a claim, or to discover a more satisfactory solution of the difficult problem we are discussing. The Lord Mayor would then be not merely the titular head, but would become in fact, as well as in name, the Chief Citizen of the Capital of the Empire.

But the City Corporation shows no disposition to assume the *rôle* of a great Central Council for London. It prefers to remain undisturbed in the rule of its little realm, and the exercise of its ancient rights and privileges, and offers strong opposition to any enlargement of its powers which would be likely to bring it under the control of the Local Government Board,—a control not always of the wisest!

When in 1835 the municipal corporations of the rest of England were reformed by Parliament, it was intended to deal with the City Corporation in a subsequent Act, and though very many attempts have since then been made, nothing of consequence has ever yet been accomplished. With the innate respect

for tradition that characterises the English race, Parliament hesitates to abrogate the charters granted by English Kings to the City long before Parliamentary Government had established itself in this country.

And so the Corporation abides by its old ways, though by so doing it severs itself from the civic life of the millions who really constitute "London." Whether this is a matter to be deplored, each must decide for himself.

Meanwhile, the appearance on the scene of the County Council has introduced a new factor into the problem. Whilst the City Corporation has never extended its activities beyond the central square mile of London, the County Council has assumed vast responsibilities over an area of 116 square miles, peopled by 4½ millions of London's citizens. The ability of the County Council to minister successfully to the municipal needs of this area has been proved by long experience, and we may therefore conclude, not unreasonably, that if Parliament were to enlarge and elevate the County Council to the position of a great Central Council for the 700 square miles contained within the Metropolitan Police District, the new and enlarged Council would exhibit the same efficiency in respect to the municipal services of the new London as it has done in the past in the smaller area of the Administrative County.

At this point we must leave the question of the establishment of a great Central Council with subordinate Borough Councils for an enlarged "London." The

subject is in the highest degree debatable, and must be fought out on platforms and in Council Chambers. But unless the younger citizens of London are instructed upon the defects of the present machinery of municipal administration and are informed of the proposals made to cure these defects, they will be unable to take an intelligent interest in the civic problems of the capital. For this reason, we have ventured to expose the more obvious shortcomings of the present system and the remedial measures which have been suggested.

POOR LAW REFORM

As already indicated, it is probable that any steps towards the simplification of London's municipal government will be gradual and slow of accomplishment. It may be of interest, therefore, to deal briefly with one side of municipal work in which public opinion seems quite ready for a change, viz. the work of the Boards of Guardians and the general administration of the poor law.

We have seen something of the intricacy of the present system of poor law administration ; how there are thirty-one Boards of Guardians within the Metropolis and over half that number in Outer London, each a law to itself with its own officials and own standard of treatment ; how, though the County Council has no control over the workhouses, it nevertheless contributes to the maintenance of the paupers therein ; how, superimposed upon the Boards of

Guardians are other Authorities, notably the Metropolitan Asylums Board, over which the ratepayers have no direct control, but which spends their money freely in connection with fever hospitals and asylums for imbeciles ; how this work is duplicated, and even triplicated by reason of the County Council also being obliged to maintain its own asylums for pauper lunatics, whilst the City Corporation is similarly possessed of institutions for the reception of the insane.

Then, too, we have noted how the administration of the Poor Law has become mixed up with the administration of Public Health ; as, for instance, in the case of the management of the hospitals for infectious diseases under the Metropolitan Asylums Board, which admit both poor-law patients and non-pauper cases. Again, as a further complication, we find the Education Committee of the London County Council undertaking the feeding of necessitous children—a form of poor relief—and at the same time inspecting and treating them medically—a form of public health work.

We have seen also, that the State has created a Central (Unemployed) Body to organise and supervise the work of Distress Committees engaged in assisting those out of employment by means of contributions from the rates ; whilst under the National Health Insurance Act the unemployed, in certain trades, are, to some extent, assisted out of the taxes. The work of the Guardians is thus overlapped in all directions, whilst the Old Age Pension Act has of late cut much of the ground from under their feet.

What is really left—one may ask—for the Boards of Guardians to do? Very little indeed, is the answer. So little, that in any scheme of reform the Boards of Guardians would probably be abolished (as recommended by the Poor Law Commission), and some Central Authority set up in their place. This Authority would take over and discharge, *with the aid of the Local Councils*, the chief duties relating to the Assistance of the Poor—duties now divided, as already shown, amongst Guardians, Education Committees, and a number of other bodies.

A CENTRAL POOR LAW AUTHORITY

The London County Council, as we have already seen, administers only one branch of public assistance in London—that of pauper lunacy. The Council, has, however, at times considered the general question of the administration of poor relief in London, more especially in connection with the investigations of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and Relief of Distress, and a scheme for the reform of the poor law system was adopted by the County Council on March 10th and 17th, 1908.

This scheme was based on the principle that the powers and duties of the Guardians should be merged in the general municipal government of London. It proposed that all poor law matters of *local* character should be entrusted to the City Corporation and the Metropolitan Borough Councils, whereas the Central Poor Law Authority for London should be a Committee

of the County Council, which would undertake the administration of poor law in the same way as the London County Council Education Committee has undertaken the provision and oversight of education. It would be well if such a reform could be speedily effected.

A centralising process has already been accomplished in the old City. In 1908, the 114 "parishes and places" in the City of London were fused into one "Parish of the City of London," and at the same time certain duties of the Guardians were transferred to the City Corporation. The change has already resulted in a considerable economy. Why should not a similar consolidating process be adopted in the rest of London?

Whether the administration of the Poor Law in the County of London is placed in the hands of the County Council, or whether a new Authority is specially elected to undertake this work, it is very plain that the financial control over poor law expenditure should be vested in a Central Authority. Concentration in the hands of a Central Authority would put an end to the system which makes each district in London responsible for its own poor. At present we find the wealthy districts escaping lightly, whilst the poorer districts are oppressed with a heavy poor rate. This means that those with the least of this world's goods are compelled to contribute most to the relief of poverty. The Equalisation Fund already mentioned (see page 58), which was designed to remedy this inequality

of the burden of the rates, has not entirely accomplished the desired end.

By placing the financial control in one Central Authority, the fight against poverty would be made a common cause over the whole of London. Instead of the East End having always to bear the brunt of the battle, all London would stand like a united army to attack and alleviate distress. Central control would also enable great economies to be effected in the expenses of management and in the purchases of stores, whilst it would also have the great advantage of securing a common standard of workhouse treatment and outdoor relief.

Whenever such Central Authority is established, it is to be hoped that the nomenclature of poor law administration will also be revised. The hated words "pauper" and "poor law" ought to be expunged from our vocabulary. Poverty is not always the result of idleness or criminality, and should in those cases where it is due to misfortune, be tenderly regarded and deprived of the stigma implied in some of the official words and phrases now in common use. Let us speak of "assistance of the poor," and no longer of pauper relief.

OTHER DEVELOPMENTS PENDING

Certain developments now pending and of extreme importance to the future of London must be very briefly mentioned. Let us name three only of the most urgent matters, and first of all the question of

the supply to the London area of electricity in bulk, as one which closely concerns the future development of the Metropolis as an industrial centre.

Cheap power is a vital necessity of modern industry, and electric power—the motive force of the future—can only be sold cheaply when it is produced upon a grand scale. Small generating plants are uneconomical. For Londoners to leave the supply of electricity in bulk to uncontrolled private companies, would be as fatal a policy as to place the supply of their drinking water once again in private hands. The bulk-supply of electricity is essentially a matter for municipal enterprise, and one that would fall naturally within the scope of a Central Authority. The subject is now under the consideration of the London County Council, and its development will be watched with interest.

In the second place, the continuous growth of London traffic affords a knotty problem. In 1903-5, it was inquired into by a Royal Commission, which issued a Report in many volumes, recommending, among other things, the formation of a Central Traffic Board. Control of London's traffic, especially since the advent of motor vehicles, is undoubtedly becoming very necessary for the safety of foot passengers, and the convenience of the mercantile community. But there are Boards enough already in London, and the creation of yet another has not commended itself to the public. A further enquiry instituted in 1912 by a Parliamentary Select Committee has resulted, up to the

present, in nothing but a series of excellent recommendations.

Meanwhile, London's streets grow more and more congested and dangerous. If the question were one of police regulations only, the difficulty might soon be removed. But control of traffic is intimately connected with the maintenance of the roads, and is therefore, again, one to be dealt with by a Central Authority, which would examine the problem in all its aspects, fix routes, and where necessary, construct or widen the streets along which the various forms of vehicular traffic should during specified hours be allowed to travel within the congested areas of the Metropolis.

Thirdly, the laying out of new districts is another of these matters in which some Central Authority should speak in no uncertain voice. At present there is a real fear that in Outer London there may be reproduced those crowded conditions and slum areas which are being abolished within the London County Council's jurisdiction at such tremendous cost to the ratepayers.

As the tentacles of London stretch themselves farther and farther afield, creating new suburbs with extraordinary rapidity, it ought to be possible for some Central Authority to insist that these outlying districts shall be laid out in harmonious relation to the rest of London ; that the main roads should be of adequate width, and connect directly with the chief arteries branching out from London ; that proper

spaces should be kept open for "lungs" and recreation grounds ; and that certain districts should be allocated for factories and workshops, and other parts reserved for residential purposes. Only by vesting town-planning powers in the hands of a Central Authority, can satisfactory and wholesome conditions of growth—such as those above indicated—be ensured for Greater London.

CONCLUSION

To serve London is the privilege as well as the duty of her citizens. To render the capital of the British Empire the most beautiful, the healthiest, and the best governed city in the world, is a fine aspiration. But before this high ideal can be achieved, it is necessary to possess a knowledge of her municipal institutions, of her problems, and of her collective interests. Such study should be looked upon as one of the fundamental duties of citizenship, and if this book contributes in any way to a better understanding of London's system of self-government, and assists in awakening a stronger civic consciousness in young Londoners, its purpose will have been accomplished.

They are citizens of no mean city. Let them resolve that their City's greatness shall never be diminished, nor her fair name and honour tarnished by any unworthiness in her municipal government. London deserves loyal service. The part she has played in her country's history constitutes a glorious record.

Let, therefore, a strong civic spirit still animate

Londoners. Their home is the heart of the Empire, and their city yields a greater influence upon the destinies of the world than any other city ever known to history.

QUESTIONS

Such as every good Londoner should be able to answer.

(1) Define clearly the areas known respectively as the City of London, the County of London, the Administrative County of London, the Metropolis, Greater London, Outer London, and the Metropolitan Police Area. (See pp. 8-10.)

(2) Name some of the great street improvements in London during the past twenty-five years. When was the Victoria Embankment constructed ? What was the river-front like before the embankment was made ?

(3) If you live or work in the City state your Ward, and give the name of the Alderman who represents your Ward in the Common Council.

(4) If you live in the County of London give the names of the Borough, the Ward, the County Electoral Division, the Parliamentary Division, and the Poor Law Union in which your home is situated. Name also the Mayor of your Borough, and your representatives in Parliament and the London County Council. What is the Rate in your Borough ?

(5) If you live in Outer London specify the local authorities responsible respectively for the maintenance, lighting and cleaning of your roads ; water, gas and electricity supplies ; police ; elementary schools ; secondary schools ; tramways ; poor law administration ; support of pauper lunatics, and the up-keep of your nearest public park.

(6) Name the Lord Mayor of London, the Town Clerk, Recorder and Common Serjeant of the City, and the Chairman and Clerk of the London County Council.

(7) Who is Commissioner of the City Police, and who the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police ?

(8) How can you distinguish by his uniform a member of the City Police from a member of the Metropolitan

Police ? Describe the Coat of Arms of the City, and give its Motto. Has the County Council a Coat of Arms or a Motto ?

(9) Name the bridges over, and the tunnels under the Thames from Kew to Gravesend. Which of the bridges belong to and are kept up by the City Corporation ?

(10) Can you give any reasons why the Thames has so few passenger boats upon it compared with the Seine at Paris ?

(11) How did Hatton Garden, Throgmorton Street, Northumberland Avenue, Aldwych and Kingsway get their names ?

(12) What authority is there for saying that Panyer Alley off Paternoster Row is the highest ground in the City ?

(13) Where is "London Stone" and what theories are propounded as to its origin ?

(14) Give some account of the New River. To whom does it owe its construction, and where will you find a statue erected to his memory ?

(15) Describe the system of canals by which London is connected with the inland waterways of this country. In particular trace the course of the Regent Canal from West to East of London.

(16) Where was Hungerford Market mentioned in Chapter 35 of Dickens' "David Copperfield," also the "Saracen's Head" mentioned in Chapter 4 of "Nicholas Nickleby"? What occupy their places nowadays ?

(17) Who once lived at what is now No. 17, Fleet Street ? To what use is the house now put and what is its condition ?

(18) Where did Temple Bar stand ? When was it removed and where has it been re-erected ? Where also is the fine oak front of Sir Paul Pindar's house, formerly standing in Bishopsgate Street, now to be seen ?

(19) What were Tyburn Gallows and where did they once stand ? How is the spot now indicated ?

(20) Where are the Halls of the following City Companies : Grocers', Brewers', Ironmongers', Drapers', Skinners', Apothecaries', Haberdashers', Stationers', Merchant Taylors', Mercers', Leather-sellers', Parish Clerks' ?

(21) Describe the marks with which gold and silver plate of certain degrees of fineness are stamped at Goldsmiths' Hall. Are there any other places in England where plate can be marked?

(22) Where in London will you find statues or other monuments erected to the memory of the following: Queen Elizabeth, Charles I., Cromwell, James II., Queen Anne, Captain Cook, Nelson, Duke of Wellington, John Wilkes, Dr. Johnson, Thomas Guy the bookseller, Robert Raikes, George Stephenson, Florence Nightingale, Gladstone, Disraeli, and Henry Irving?

(23) Give some account of St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, and its present uses. Name some of the relics of interest to be seen in the rooms above the gate.

(24) Where are the houses once inhabited respectively by:—Sir Isaac Newton, Boswell, Hogarth, Charles James Fox, Charles Dickens, and Thomas Carlyle?

(25) Locate Bread Street and say with what famous poet it is associated. In what City Church is this same poet buried?

(26) Name a few of Wren's churches. Which of his steeples do you most admire?

(27) How does the style of architecture of St. Paul's Cathedral differ from that of the building destroyed in the Great Fire? Can you give any reason why Wren did not follow on the old lines?

(28) Where is there a round church in London, where also one that is square or nearly so?

(29) To what Saints are Westminster Abbey, Westminster Cathedral, and the Temple Church respectively dedicated?

(30) In what churches are buried Miles Coverdale, Sir Walter Raleigh, Judge Jeffreys, Samuel Pepys, and Samuel Richardson ("founder of the English domestic novel")?

(31) In what cemetery will you find the grave of John Bunyan? What other famous preachers lie near him? Who maintains this cemetery? Mention any of the cemeteries in London that are municipally managed.

(32) Who was Rahere and where is he buried? Of what great charitable institution was he the founder?

(33) Which church is styled "The Westminster Abbey

of the City"? Who were Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Julius Cæsar, and Francis Bancroft, all of whom are buried in this church?

(34) Name the leading picture galleries in London. How did the Tate Gallery get its name, and what previously occupied the site upon which this building now stands? What school of painting is chiefly represented in this gallery? Where is Hogarth's series of pictures entitled "The Rake's Progress" to be seen?

(35) What special exhibits of interest are contained in Kensington Palace; in the Natural History Museum, South Kensington; in the Bethnal Green Museum, and the London Museum, Stafford House? Where would you go to see George Stephenson's "Rocket," which gained the prize for locomotives in 1829?

(36) Where is the Horniman Museum and for what collections is it chiefly noted?

(37) In what museum in London is kept the sarcophagus of the father (or perhaps the grandfather) of the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites?

(38) Following a very ancient custom wax effigies of Queen Elizabeth, Charles II., and certain other royal personages were carried at their respective funerals? Where are these wax figures now kept? (N.B.—*Not* at Madame Tussaud's).

(39) Sir Walter Raleigh is said to have been the first to introduce tobacco into England. In which museums will you find (1) his original smoking apparatus, (2) the pathetic letter written by him to Anne, Queen of James I., after eight years' imprisonment in the Tower, asking for release or death?

(40) Where is Nelson's Tomb, and where the coat he wore at Trafalgar? Where, too, the hat Wellington wore at Waterloo and the sword Wolfe carried at Quebec? In what Museum are to be seen side by side the log-book of the *Victory* describing the battle of Trafalgar, and the despatches written by Wellington after the battle of Waterloo?

(41) A Roman boat was dug up in 1910 when excavations were being made for the foundations of the new County Hall. Where is this boat now to be seen? In

which museum have most of the Roman "finds" in London been deposited?

(42) In what place may you see the MS. of "David Copperfield" and other of Dickens' works? Where is this great social reformer and lover of London buried? (N.B.—All the objects named in the six preceding questions are exhibited in buildings open to the public. Not any of them are, however, in the British Museum.)

(43) What were the old London "Train-bands" referred to in the famous poem of "John Gilpin"? Have any of them survived to the present day?

(44) Name some of the University and other "Settlements" in East and South London and describe generally their work.

(45) To what Technical Schools or Institutes in London should a youth proceed who wants to learn any of the following trades:—bricklaying and masonry, plumbing, gasfitting, photo-engraving and lithography, boot and shoe making, leather dressing and dyeing, clock, watch and optical instrument making, baking and confectionery? Where, too, may he be trained as a teacher, or as a navigator, or as a waiter?

(46) Where and what are Gresham College and the City of London College? By whom were they respectively founded? What do you know of their work and of the courses of instruction provided by each?

(47) Mention some blocks of Artisans' Dwellings built by the L.C.C. Discuss the anomaly of the L.C.C. building workmen's cottages outside the area of its jurisdiction.

(48) What do you know about the Rowton Trust and the Rowton Houses? Where is the Ada Lewis Hostel and what are its functions?

(49) At which of the Docks on the river is the bulk of the frozen meat landed and stored; at which are rubber and tobacco warehoused; at which is most of the timber coming up the Thames discharged? What class of vessels particularly use the Tilbury Dock?

(50) Give some account of the manner in which the Port of London Authority regulates and endeavours to de-casualize labour at the docks.

(51) In what respects do the licenses of Drury Lane and Covent Garden differ from those of other West End Theatres? Who is the licensing authority for Music Halls?

(52) Which is the authority in London for administering the Shops Act of 1912? Discuss the general effect of this Act upon London shopkeepers.

(53) Where are the Head Offices of the Metropolitan Asylums' Board and the Metropolitan Water Board?

(54) Name some of the leading Joint Boards performing municipal services in London. What are the general advantages and disadvantages of placing control and spending powers in the hands of a Joint Board?

(55) What is the present death rate per 1,000 for London? Compare it with the death rate for 1888. What inference can be drawn from the comparison?

(56) Mention some of the great landowners of London and the areas under their control. What in your opinion is the general effect upon London of the "ninety-nine-years lease" system of holding land which prevails in certain districts?

(57) It has been urged that the centralization of the chief municipal services in the hands of the London County Council would tend to diminish local patriotism by reducing the Metropolitan Borough Councils to a position of comparative insignificance. What substance is there in this argument?

(58) At present the average Rate for London is lower than the rate in Sheffield; yet London costs more per head to govern than Sheffield. Explain this apparent contradiction. (In answering this question, two factors must be taken into consideration, (1) our rating system which takes rental value as the basis of the rate (see Primer of English Citizenship, page 87), and (2) the relative values of property in Sheffield and London.)

(59) What results might naturally be expected to flow, and do actually accrue, from the fact that the Metropolitan Boroughs make their own Assessments (see Primer of English Citizenship, page 87) and adopt no common standard of valuation?

(60) What features are there in the government of the

Old City that appear to indicate a continuity of the existence of London between the Roman and Saxon dominions?

LIST OF AUTHORITIES

Works on the history and antiquities of London are both numerous and voluminous. For the guidance of readers, a short list of the more modern works is here appended, *all* of which may be consulted in the Guildhall Library of the Corporation of the City of London.

As mentioned on page 22, this splendid collection of works of reference is open free to the public, and every assistance is given to the inquirer by its courteous staff of officials.

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The following may also be consulted upon various points —particularly upon current statistics : City of London Year Book ; County Councils, Municipal Corporations and Local Authorities Companion ; Municipal Year Book ; Report of the London County Council to March, 1913 (P. S. King & Son, price 1s.) ; Hazell's Annual ; Whitaker's Almanack.

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